

Kampuchea:

From Tragedy

to Rebirth

AN OLD GESTAPO RECIPE • TOTAL GENOCIDE

THEY HAVE KNOWN HELL • CRIMINAL ABOMINATIONS

FACING THE FUTURE • THE DARK NIGHT IS OVER

A PORTENTOUS VICTORY TO A NEW LIFE



Kampuchea:

From **Tragedy**
to **Rebirth**



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КАМПУЧИЯ:
ОТ ТРАГЕДИИ К ВОЗРОЖДЕНИЮ

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THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA*

On January 7, 1979, an event of historic importance took place on the Indochina Peninsula—the downfall of reactionary pro-Peking Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime under a victorious popular uprising. The revolution put an end to the mediaeval nightmare, terrible sufferings and calamities inflicted upon the Kampuchean people by this clique, and opened up new prospects for the country to build a new life, for progress, democracy and peace.

* * *

Kampuchea, one of the most ancient countries in South-East Asia was forced by the French colonialists to sign a protectorate treaty in 1863.

The 1954 Geneva agreements on Indochina, which formalised the joint victory of the peoples of Indochina in the war of resistance against the French colonialists, guaranteed the country's independence. In the years of peace that followed, Cambodia, as it was then called, developed as a free and independent nation. The Soviet Union and other socialist states accorded her diplomatic recognition and declared their respect for the policy of neutrality proclaimed by the country, for her independence and territorial integrity.

In the 1960s, when the American imperialists initiated their armed aggression against southern Vietnam and Laos, Kampuchea did everything to avoid being drawn by the United States into the escalating military conflict. The American military regarded neutral Kampuchea as a "break" in the chain of

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American military bases that was then being set up in large parts of Indochina. On March 18, 1970, rightist Kampuchean politicians, helped by CIA agents, engineered a coup in Pnom Penh.

The United States' open interference in Kampuchean affairs caused wide-spread popular indignation in the country. The Kampuchea United Front, formed in May 1970 by patriotic forces led the people in their armed struggle against the American interventionists and their henchmen.

Of major importance for this struggle's success was the solidarity of the national and patriotic forces of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, a solidarity the aggressors and their associates could not shake. The victory of the Vietnamese people, formalised in the Paris Agreement of 1973, did much to help the national patriotic forces strengthen their position in Indochina. In April 1975, the Kampuchean people scored a glorious victory in their heroic struggle. The pro-American puppet regime was toppled, and all power passed into the hands of the Kampuchea United Front.

Kampuchea could now build a new and peaceful life. In fact, however, events took a disastrous turn for her people. The political power in the country was usurped by the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, supported by Peking, which betrayed the revolutionary cause. Now an obedient tool of the Chinese rulers' great-power hegemonism, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime zealously began to implement anti-popular reactionary Maoist precepts in both Kampuchean domestic and foreign policy and inflicted untold sufferings upon the Kampuchean people.

In their efforts to copy the Chinese "cultural revolution", the new rulers of Kampuchea meted out mass reprisals against the country's true patriots. They were particularly ruthless in their persecution of intellectuals, students, office employees and Buddhist priests, many of whom were killed. Entire ethnic and religious groups faced extermination. The Peking puppets in Kampuchea carried out a wide-spread policy of genocide against their own people, on a scale unprecedented in the country. During the 1970-1975 war, 600 thousand Cambodians lost their lives, whereas the forty-four months of Pol Pot-Ieng

Sary rule wiped out about three million people. Many of them were executed, while others starved to death or died from disease.

The regime's socio-economic policy bore the stamp of mediaeval barbarity. Virtually the entire urban population was herded into the countryside, where they and local residents were banded into Chinese-style "communes" and "labour teams", a new kind of concentration camp. The Kampucheans were divided into castes and groups according to their loyalty to the regime. All forms of property were abolished. Money was taken out of circulation and trade reduced to barter. All schools and cinemas were shut down; there was no television. The only "mass medium" in Kampuchea was a poor substitute for a newspaper, a sheet carrying hardly any information. The population was completely cut off from the outside world.

There have been but few cases in history when a government, trying to impose a particular socio-political regime on its people, has gone so much against the needs of developing productive forces and so openly flouted the most elementary principles of justice and common sense. "Kampuchea was ruled by a pro-Peking regime, modelled on the Chinese political system, and the mass extermination of people in Kampuchea is nothing but a Chinese-style 'cultural revolution' in action outside China," said Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In Kampuchea, one of the main precepts of Maoism, that "villages surround the town", was implemented with particular zeal. After ravaging cities and turning them into ghost towns, after herding all the population into "communes", the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique turned the country into one huge "agricultural community" where, for almost four years, the Peking henchmen plied their despotic cudgel to the lives of individual citizens, social groups and classes.

"The rifle brings political power" is another Maoist precept. The total militarisation of the country and the establishment of a barrack-style regime were the backbone of the tyranny imposed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

Every generation of Chinese people must go through a "cultural revolution" of its own, the Peking leaders have said, but the Kampuchean version of the "cultural revolution" surpassed all known patterns of evil. All political dissidents were exterminated, the educational system and the "heritage of the past" were wiped out. Ancient cultural monuments were destroyed, scientific works, educational aids and art publications were all consumed in the flames of bon-fires. All these methods were tested long ago by the Maoists in China, but in Kampuchea they assumed a particularly evil character.

Just like in China, the Pol Pot supporters of the "cultural revolution" directed their main blow against their country's Communist party, disrupting its activities and replacing the democratic leadership of the party with a terrorist dictatorship headed by the notorious Angka Loeu, which sent millions of Kampuchians to their death.

Kampuchea took its "great leap" in the form of a drive under the slogan "If we have rice, we have everything!", a campaign that plunged the country's economy into chaos and threw it back several decades.

Pol Pot's supporters were particularly anxious to copy their Peking masters' foreign policy. Right from its inception, the regime headed by China's henchmen spearheaded its policy against the historical ties binding the peoples of Indochina, ties that had been born of their long common struggle against foreign domination. The regime unleashed an anti-Vietnam hysteria and laid absurd claims to Vietnamese territory, "right up to Saigon itself". The Pol Pot troops tried to capture some Vietnamese islands, raided villages across the Vietnamese border, and finally unleashed a border war against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The stage directors of that war were 20 thousand Chinese advisers. China sent massive "aid" to Kampuchea: aircraft, tanks, heavy artillery, and fire arms. Peking also helped Kampuchea organise more than 20 divisions, an inordinately large force for a country of that size.

Provocations were instigated not only against Vietnam, but also against other countries bordering on Kampuchea. Thus the Chinese leaders used Kampuchea as a tool for implement-

ing their great-power expansionist designs directed against the peoples of South-East Asia.

Pol Pot's Kampuchea demonstrated to the whole world the monstrous nature of the regime forced upon her by Peking, a political model based on mass annihilation of people, the trampling of the most elementary human rights, and the most absurd socio-economic experiments. On the international scene it was a policy of rabid nationalism and xenophobia. The people of the country would obviously not tolerate this police regime for long nor put up with the endless reprisals exercised by its leaders. An explosion was inevitable, and it finally came.

Right from the start the Kampuchean people strongly resisted the policy pursued by the Peking-style regime. In early December, 1978, at the convention of people's representatives held in one liberated area in the country, the delegates set up the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation (the KUFNS). The convention adopted a declaration for the Front calling on the entire nation to rise up in order to topple the reactionary dictatorial regime, and to set up a truly people's democratic system in Kampuchea.

This declaration met with the widest response among all segments of the Kampuchean population, who saw it as the way towards the long-awaited liberation from the nightmares of tyranny and mediaeval barbarity. At the end of December, 1978, the revolutionary armed forces launched a nation-wide onslaught against the regime. On January 7, 1979, the red banner of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, bearing five golden turrets (symbolising the ancient Khmer temple of Angkor Wat), was raised over Pnom Penh. The reactionary regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary had fallen to be replaced by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, proclaimed on January 11.

In its manifesto, the People's Revolutionary Council (the interim government of the new Kampuchea) declared the principal goals of the Kampuchean people's just struggle: to build a peaceable, independent, and non-aligned Kampuchea, a society developing on democratic principles towards socialism. Urgent measures were taken to democratise all aspects of socio-political affairs, to establish a truly democratic govern-

ment elected by popular vote. The Council abolished the anti-national laws promulgated by the Pol Pot regime, guaranteed democratic freedoms, freedom of worship, the right to work, to rest and to an education. The Council also proclaimed all citizens be equal and respect for their dignity and personality. The people of Kampuchea enthusiastically greeted these changes that had taken place in their ancient and beautiful land.

By toppling the anti-popular clique, the Kampuchean people made an invaluable contribution to the general improvement of the political climate in South-East Asia, to the cause of peace and security in this part of the world. The People's Revolutionary Council declared that the new Kampuchea would build her relations with all other countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, would strengthen her solidarity with the socialist states, with the newly independent countries and with the national liberation movements, and would promote the non-aligned movement.

The progressive public of the world greeted the victory of the Kampuchean people with joy. The Soviet Union, which had always supported the just cause of the Kampuchean patriots, was among the first countries to recognise the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea as the sole legitimate government of the country, as spokesman for the Kampuchean people. In their message to Heng Samrin, Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council, Chairman of the Central Committee of the United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea, Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin, stressed: "The Soviet Union will continue to develop and strengthen the traditional relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries, and will help the Kampuchean people in their efforts to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, non-aligned and socialist Kampuchea."

E. Kobelev

Part I **THE TRAGEDY
OF THE KAMPUCHEAN
PEOPLE**

The reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, acting on orders from Peking, turned Kampuchea into a testing ground for the Maoists' crazy ideas; the Kampuchean people came under threat of extinction.

**A. Usvatov,
G. Shmelyov**

THE KAMPUCHEAN TRAGEDY*

New Times, No. 37, 1978

"In its desire to end the armed conflict and bloodshed without delay and to start negotiations at once, the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam proposes that the two sides (Kampuchea and Vietnam—*Ed.*) make a joint declaration of intent on the cessation of all hostilities in the border areas," declared the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in a Note published in June, 1978. Kampuchea was obviously trying to drag out the border war and obstruct the solution of outstanding problems in the relations between the two countries.

HATRED AND PROVOCATION CAMPAIGN

Tragic though it might be, the leaders of Kampuchea, whose people had for five years been fighting against the imperialist aggressors and their local henchmen in a war that carried away about 600 thousand lives, launched military operations immediately after the war was over. Against whom? Against the fraternal Vietnamese people, who had shortly before won out in the most arduous of national liberation wars forced on them by the US imperialists. On April 17, 1975, the Cambodian forces of liberation captured Pnom Penh and took control of the entire country. Soon afterwards, in May, Kampuchean troops staged their first incursion into the Vietnamese territory: the islands of Phu Quoc and An Thoi, and part of the mainland between Ha Tien and Tay Ninh.

Later Kampuchean troops made regular inroads into Viet-

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979

namese territory along the entire 800-mile frontier that separates the two countries. At times they penetrated to a depth of seven miles. Moreover, as the massive evidence produced by the Vietnamese government shows, the Kampuchean aggressors perpetrated acts of brutality against the local population, leaving a trail of death and destruction in their wake.

"We were ordered to kill children, too," said Oa Trang, a squad commander who was taken prisoner by the Vietnamese. "We were told that they would also become enemies of Kampuchea when they grew up."

Over a year ago Pnom Penh cut off all contacts between the liaison commissions for the settlement of the border conflicts between the two countries. It has turned down all of Hanoi's proposals for undelayed negotiations to resolve the border dispute. At the same time Kampuchea escalated hostile actions against Vietnam.

For a long time the Vietnamese army and the people in the border areas showed restraint and tolerance. "But Kampuchea, erroneously taking our patience and restraint for signs of weakness, continued and even intensified her hostile actions," said Prime Minister Pham Van Dong in an interview to the Vietnamese News Agency. "Faced with such a grave situation, our armed forces in the border areas were compelled to take measures of self-defence. We were firmly resolved to defend the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country and the lives, property and peaceable labour of the people."

Alongside armed provocations against Vietnam, the Kampuchean regime mounted a sweeping campaign against Vietnam and its people. For several generations, about half a million Vietnamese have lived in Cambodia. They fought side by side with the Khmers in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement. But right after the victory in April, 1975, they became the object of persecution and brutality by the newly installed Kampuchean authorities. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese were driven from their homes and their land, deprived of their property and their tools of labour. Tens of thousands of them were expelled from Kampuchea and many thousands were murdered in cold blood.

In a document circulated by its press and information de-

partment on January 5, 1978, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry cited facts testifying to Pnom Penh's territorial claims and annexationist designs. One of them was a leaflet found in the area of the Vin Fe Canal, 1, 200 meters inside the Vietnamese province of Anziang (with the provincial capital of Tiaudok). The text of this leaflet read: "Remember, you are on Kampuchean territory. Kampuchean territory does not end at this canal but extends as far as Saigon. . . ."

At the same time, Kampuchean propaganda media accused Vietnam of aggression and annexationist designs and of the intent to subjugate Kampuchea by, among other things, setting up an Indochinese federation under the aegis of Hanoi.

The Vietnamese government patiently explained its stand, exposing Pnom Penh's slanderous allegations about an Indochinese federation, a federation of the three states of Indochina. In a document entitled "The Truth about an 'Indochinese federation' ", published in April this year, the Foreign Ministry of Vietnam made it clear that the old idea of an "Indochinese federation" had long since ceased to accord with the realities and had been discarded back in the mid-1950's.

Nevertheless, Pnom Penh repeated its slanderous charges against Vietnam, rejecting (or ignoring) Hanoi's repeated proposals for settling the border disputes by negotiation.

The foreign policy of a country is always interlinked with its domestic policy, by which it is largely shaped, and also helps the government in implementing the latter.

What is the domestic policy of the Kampuchean leaders who rose to power on April 17, 1975?

"A STATE THE WORLD HAD NEVER SEEN BEFORE"

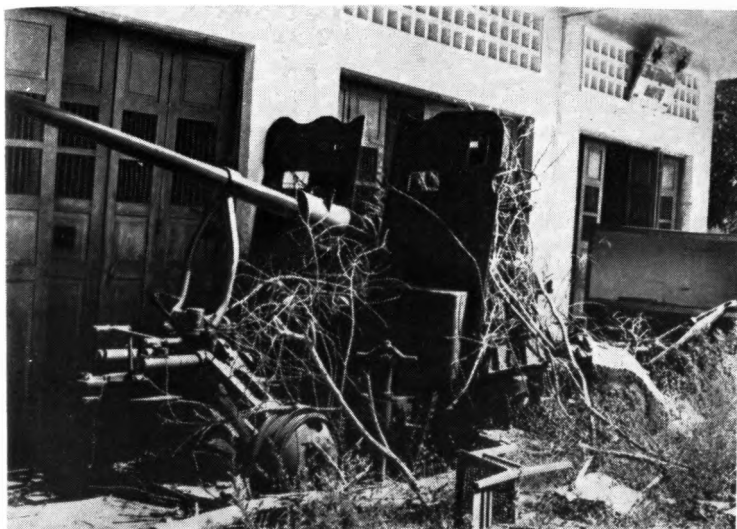
For a long time Kampuchea was almost completely cut off from the outside world. It is only in the past few months that the doors to the country have been opened a crack to let in some foreign diplomats and a group of Yugoslav journalists. The once busy Kampuchean capital greets the visitors with the silence of its deserted streets.

Pnom Penh once had a population of over two million. But now, as Ieng Sary, one of the Kampuchean leaders, said at a press conference in Tokyo, no more than 200,000 people live in the capital. They are primarily civil servants and workers employed at the few remaining factories. That is why, according to foreign visitors, only very few pedestrians or cyclists can be seen in the city. The bus, postal and telegraph services are not operating. Even the few embassies (about ten) do not have regular telephone communications with the Foreign Ministry and their staff are permitted to leave the embassy compounds only on the Foreign Ministry's authorisation and always under armed escort. Significantly, food is delivered by the military directly to the embassy buildings.

The four-page *Revolution*, the only newspaper in the country, comes out once every ten days.

The National Bank is in ruins. In fact there is no need for it because money has been abolished. There is one shop in Pnom Penh, open twice a week, and even then for foreigners only. The National Library has been turned into a warehouse. A "ghost city" is what Pnom Penh looks like today, as can be seen in the documentary shot by the Yugoslav journalists.

According to eyewitness reports, Takeo, Kampot and Battambang, all of which had sizeable populations in the past, look similarly deserted. Intent on building a "state such as the world has never seen before", a state without cities, money, communications or mass media, the authorities have established a regime of brutal terror. There is no freedom of any kind in Kampuchea and national traditions and customs have been destroyed, writes the Vietnamese newspaper *Nhan Dan*, summing up interviews with Kampuchean soldiers taken prisoner. It is believed that between 2.5 and 3 million townspeople were moved from their homes in the second half of April 1975 and resettled in the countryside. All of them, the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG writes, "have been forcibly turned into peasants" and brought together into agricultural "communes", working paddy fields and building irrigation canals and dikes from morning till night. An "egalitarian rural co-operative without trade and financial links, has been proclaimed the



Pol Pot troops and their Chinese "advisors" turned the hospital on Mao Zedong Street into a barracks. On January 7, 1979 they were forced to flee, leaving their weapons behind. (SPK photo)



Twelve to fourteen-year-olds were conscripted into the army of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime



A school turned into a prison by Pol Pot's butchers. (TASS photo)



Murder weapons; some of the Pol Pot butchers' victims



While the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was in power, all Buddhist pagodas were destroyed. The photo shows the broken statue of Buddha at the Basset pagoda. (SPK photo)



These bodies of murdered people were found in one of the Pol Pot regime's prisons after the liberation of Kampuchea. (SPK-VNA photo)



Bodies of murdered prisoners in the Basset region. (SPK photo)



Body of a horribly murdered Kampuchean patriot. The bloody murder weapon has been thrown on to the floor. (SPK photo)



A Kampuchean patriot, chained by the legs and murdered by Pol Pot's agents in Basset. (SPK photo)



Remains of victims of the Pol Pot regime in the Kampong Cham Province. (TASS photo)



Pol Pot's butchers kill their victim with hoes



Victims of the criminal Pol Pot regime



How China's henchmen dealt with the Kampucheans



Remains of victims, burnt alive in Pnom Penh's main square during the Pol Pot clique's reign of terror. (TASS photo)

basic social and economic cell in present-day Kampuchea," writes Dragoslav Rancic, correspondent for the Belgrade newspaper *Politika*.

NO RIGHTS, NO FREEDOMS

The life in these "communes" was described by some of the refugees who managed to escape from Kampuchea into Vietnam and Thailand.

According to Run Dun, a former Kampuchean serviceman, the Pnom Penh authorities, who took their orders from Peking, deliberately misapplied the lofty goals of socialism in order to force everyone to join co-operatives (which is an euphemism for concentration camps). As a result, both old and young people can be seen working like convicts.

Though virtually the entire population has been forced to work, irrigating farm fields and cultivating the land, the annual grain output is only 60-70 per cent of the prewar level, according to the Yugoslav journalists.

The religious feelings of the people are trampled upon. "All monks and nuns have been driven out of their pagodas," said Soen Son, a Buddhist monk and dean of the Piem Pen Pagoda in the Sempriem District, Swairieng Province. "The Buddhist statues and altars have been smashed or thrown into rivers and ponds." The aged monk, together with a number of other men of religion, was compelled ("as a prisoner of war") to do backbreaking work for 13 hours a day for only meagre food-rations. "We were always hungry. Those who complained were arrested and taken away somewhere..." he said.

Paul Wedel, a UPI correspondent, cited similar statements by refugees from western Kampuchea whom he met and interviewed in the Aranyaprathet camp in Thailand. They told him that the only reason people did all that work for virtually nothing was fear of death.

There has been no mention of intellectuals in any recently published Kampuchean official documents. A Yugoslav correspondent who visited Pnom Penh concluded that "officially, intellectuals no longer exist". To prevent new intellectuals emerging in the country, the Pnom Penh authorities have

closed down not only higher, but also secondary schools, and have reduced the number of primary schools to a minimum. "We saw boys working together with grown-ups, building dikes and cultivating paddy fields. In villages we saw more boys and girls holding shovels than school bags," wrote D. Rancic.

At the water pump manufacturing factory in Pnom Penh he saw youths, even 12-year-olds, "who had to stand on a platform so they could reach the machines they were operating". They work nine hours a day and, in addition, cultivate the communal kitchen garden. Their staple diet is boiled rice and fish. Meat is issued twice a week, and milk only twice a month.

A POLICY OF GENOCIDE

According to refugees, the victims of the persecutions are not only ethnic Vietnamese, but also thousands of Kampuchean revolutionaries who, at the call of the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (as the Communist Party of Kampuchea was known before Pol Pot and Ieng Sary took over) received political and professional training in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam while the liberation war was still raging. After their country's liberation from the Lon Nol regime, they returned home. According to the Voice of Vietnam Radio Station in Hanoi, today "nearly all these Kampuchean cadres have been eliminated". The number of victims does not stop here. The newspaper *Nhan Dan*, referring to the evidence of Im Soth Tanakita from the Siem Reap Province, writes that once Kampuchean soldiers drove 78 men, tied by a single rope, into the forest. Among them were Vietnamese and Chinese living in Kampuchea. All of them had been charged with conspiracy against the Kampuchean authorities. The soldiers killed them one by one, using shovels.

Numerous facts support the Vietnamese News Agency's statement that "the Kampuchean authorities pursue a barbarous policy against their own people too. For Kampucheans of all social and ethnic groups, life is worse than hell". The Voice of Vietnam said in one broadcast: "The Pnom Penh

leaders who call themselves revolutionaries, claim that they follow some 'special course' of restructuring Kampuchean society. In fact, this 'special course' is nothing but an extremist and narrowly nationalistic policy—foreign and domestic—a policy marked by mediaeval barbarity.”

It would be wrong to say that this course met with no protest or resistance in Kampuchea. Vietnam radio pointed out that the resistance to the regime and the flight of refugees from Kampuchea had become a regular occurrence and had spread to the army itself. Even Phnom Penh radio had to admit that there had been anti-government uprisings in the country. The radio added, however, that “all the rebels have been eliminated”.

MAOIST PRECEPTS

In reply to an *Asahi* correspondent concerning the causes of the border conflict with Kampuchea, Phan Hien, Deputy Foreign Minister of Vietnam, said: “Kampuchea is supported by China. This is a fact. We have convincing proof to this effect. The relevant authorities in China give aid and support to Kampuchea. It is they who have precipitated the present conflict.”

Peking's increasingly hostile attitude towards the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is prompted by the great-power hegemonistic designs of the Chinese leaders. They seek to achieve their expansionist goals by making others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, and they turned Kampuchea into an instrument of aggression. Peking regards Kampuchea as a testing ground for its political and military concepts and plans.

Mao Zedong said at a Political Bureau meeting in 1965: “We must gain possession of South-East Asia, including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore, at whatever cost. South-East Asia is very rich; it has very large mineral resources and it is worth the cost of obtaining it. The region will be very useful for China's industrial development, and the expenditure will thus be fully recouped.” It may also be recalled that a textbook, *Concise History of Modern China*

published earlier, in 1954, also lists the territories that China "lost" after the Opium Wars. Among these territories claimed by Peking are Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

It is precisely the designs of the Chinese expansionists that are at the back of Kampuchean tragedy and the sufferings of the country's people. Kampuchea has fallen prey to Peking's great-power hegemonistic policy and the anti-scientific Maoist ideology. The Kampuchean "experiment" is a grievous and painful trial for the peoples of Indochina and South-East Asia in general. At the same time, this experience serves as a warning against Peking's expansionist plans in Asia and an instructive lesson showing the developing nations the miseries and hardships they may bring upon themselves by following in the footsteps of the Peking leaders' policy and ideology.

Observers note that the methods and precepts of Maoist policy, particularly its extremist pronouncements born of the "cultural revolution", have taken the form of ostracising the country's intellectuals, folding up the educational system, inflaming rabid xenophobia, and forcing people to wear insulting posters labelling them as "enemies". These precepts can also be seen in the extermination of patriots-internationalists, in the adoption of forced labour in the countryside and the fanning of militarist hysteria. A *New York Times* correspondent pointed out that the ultra-radical measures taken by the Pnom Penh leaders had gone even further than the precepts laid down by Mao Zedong.

The Kampuchean arsenals are well stocked with Chinese weapons. The Kampuchean army has aircraft, marine commando forces and long-range artillery which is used to bombard the Vietnamese border towns of Ha Tien and Tiaudok, and even the town of Tay Ninh which lies at a considerable distance from the border. All these towns have sustained considerable damage at the hands of Kampuchean armed forces, which used 120-mm guns supplied by China.

Inh Chanh Thon, deputy battalion commander of the Third Division taken prisoner in action against the Vietnamese said: "Our leaders taught me and my soldiers that Vietnam is our deadly enemy, enemy number one, whom

we have to destroy." His statement was confirmed by squad commander Oa Trang. "It is China that is pushing us into war, because she hates Vietnam. It is China that is making us do all the fighting."

The Chinese weapons, deliveries of which are growing to Kampuchea all the time, have the number 800 punched on them. A Kampuchean army officer who had deserted to Vietnam fearing that he might fall victim to one of the many "purges" in his own country, explained the meaning of this stamp. This, he said, stands for the 800-million population of China. According to this officer, Kampuchean soldiers are told that the eight-million Kampuchea, supported by the 800-million China, can easily beat Vietnam with a population of 50 million.

A France-Press correspondent in Bangkok supplied more details about the sources and scale of arms supplies to Kampuchea. "Over the past three years, China has fully equipped some 30 or 40 regiments of the Cambodian army. It has delivered 107-mm rockets, rapid-fire 130-mm cannons, AK-47 automatic assault rifles, also motor launches, lorries, petrol, and ammunition of various kinds. The supplies—several thousand tons a week—arrive either at Pochentong Airport (outside Pnom Penh) in a Boeing airlift from China, or at the port of Kampongsaom (formerly Sihanoukville) on Chinese cargo ships.

"None other than China keeps in power the men who terrorise Cambodia and who have reduced it to a level of poverty and suffering that no other country has ever seen," wrote the *New Statesman* in August.

Peking is prodding Kampuchea towards a further exacerbation of the tension in Indochina and in other parts of South-East Asia.

In its document entitled "The Truth About an 'Indochinese federation'", the Foreign Ministry of Vietnam said that "the policy of hatred between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples, a policy aimed at undermining friendship between them, is part and parcel of the broader policy of provoking border conflicts with neighbouring countries, of the foreign policy of closed doors, a policy that glorifies narrow-

minded nationalism and rejects international and regional co-operation. The aim of the Kampuchean authorities' foreign policy is to step up reprisals at home, purge revolutionaries and patriots opposed to this erroneous policy, and strengthen their own positions."

The interests of peace and progress insistently call for an end to the provocations by Kampuchean leaders against neighbouring countries, for a peaceful settlement of disputes and for the establishment of good-neighbourly co-operation with these countries, for the benefit of the peoples of all Indochina.

I. Shchedrov THE PRISON LAND*

Pravda, January 25, 1979

**About the crimes committed
in Kampuchea by the pro-Peking rulers**

"The manager of the co-operative, one of his assistants and the team leader were shot in full view of the villagers. We were told that they were traitors. . . . And then a mother of two was beaten to death with bamboo sticks."

"...Thirty families in my village were driven out to its edge and shot. I saw the trench—fifteen metres long and two metres wide. The bodies lay there in the water for a long time, were mixed with grass and manure and used as fertiliser."

Those are eye-witness accounts by Kampucheans who miraculously survived the genocide that was daily perpetrated there during the years of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. Ith Somphol told me about what had taken place in his native village of Preknorin in 1977, and San Kanda described a tragedy that happened at the other end of long-suffering Kampuchea last year.

There is yet another eye-witness account by Prok Sam, one of the Kampucheans who was forced to leave Pnom Penh.

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In the village of Pnomsrok, where he was resettled, he was ordered to join a work crew of 230 men. "There were all-male work crews and all-female ones. Men and women were supposed to work separately. I married in 1976. Right after our wedding night we were separated for four whole months. . . ."

The export version of the "cultural revolution", which turned the country into a vast concentration camp, was a Peking brainchild. The frontiers were open only to the thousands of Chinese advisers. In fact, Peking was the main inspirer of the monstrous genocidal experiment of creating a new order odious to the people. What that new order was like can be judged from an admission made by Pol Pot himself in the spring of 1978, at the very time when San Kanda's fellow villagers were taken out of their homes and lined up before the firing squad outside the village.

"We only need one million Kampuchians to build the new society," said this advocate of the Chinese-type political system in Kampuchea. But what was to become of the other millions? Over the forty-four months of the pro-Peking clique's arbitrary rule, many hundreds of thousands of people were executed in cold blood.

It is clear that, without support from Peking, the puppet regime would never have lasted so long in the face of the Kampuchean people's mounting anger. *The New York Times* (whose sympathies are far removed from the Kampuchean patriots) called the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime "a replica of Auschwitz", "the gloomiest period in the history of the 20th century". The paper was compelled to admit: "The Pol Pot butchers sadistically murdered many Cambodians. As to the instruments of murder and torture, these were supplied by China to their Cambodian vassals." Curiously, even Prince Sihanouk, whom Peking sent to New York to pose as a representative of the "legitimate" Pol Pot government, himself denounced the regime. He as much as declared that he had been a prisoner of the ruling clique.

Let us recall how this dictatorial, martial regime was imposed upon Kampuchea and how the country was used as a launching-pad for international provocations. In the spring of

1975, after five years of armed resistance, Kampuchea was liberated from a pro-American puppet administration. Guerilla detachments entered Pnom Penh, and the capital enthusiastically saluted its liberators. Then Pol Pot was brought to Pnom Penh onboard a Chinese aircraft and began to implement a China-style "cultural revolution" in Kampuchea.

The accounts by refugees give an idea of how it all happened. More than three million townspeople were forcefully resettled in rural areas. They were prohibited from moving around the countryside, and many families were split. The Pnom Penh rulers abolished money by a stroke of the pen. Schools and hospitals were closed down, all postal and telegraph services for civilians were abolished. All boys and girls of 12-14 were formed into work crews. For all the forced labour they did, they received only a scant food ration. Millions of people were labelled as foreign agents and reactionaries. Anyone who refused or was unable to obey the resettlement orders was put to death. National minorities, including the Cham and mountain tribes, were subjected to wholesale genocide. Many of the Kampucheans escaped to neighbouring Vietnam and Thailand. Among the victims of the pro-Peking regime were those who had taken up arms with the guerrillas or engaged in underground revolutionary activities, fighting for the freedom and independence of Kampuchea.

The country was artificially cut off from the outside world and turned into a seat of tension in South-East Asia. The Pol Pot regime, following Peking's orders, forced the Kampucheans to spill their blood in clashes with the Vietnamese, their allies in the liberation struggle. Kampuchean detachments landed on the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc. They also raided the Vietnamese frontier provinces of Tay Ninh and Ha Tien. The Kampuchean rulers also set up a network of secret schools for training saboteurs and spies, who were then infiltrated into neighbouring countries.

Early in 1978, the Pol Pot regime broke off diplomatic relations with Vietnam and stepped up provocations against its neighbour. It was no accident that this coincided with the launching of an all-out anti-Vietnamese campaign by Peking. In liberated Pnom Penh, the patriots found a school the

clique had turned into a real prison. A slogan written on one wall read: "Supported by China, we must rout Vietnam!" Surely proof enough that the deposed regime acted hand in glove with the Chinese hegemonists!

The popular resistance movement swept the dictators out of Kampuchea. Fleeing across the Kampuchean border together with them are the Chinese "experts", thus marking the ignoble end of Peking's experiment. The perpetrators of genocide will not escape their just retribution from the Kampuchians, the retribution of the peoples.

A. Levin

ACCORDING TO AN OLD GESTAPO RECIPE*

Komsomolskaya Pravda, February 2, 11, 1979

A report from a former prison

No eye-witnesses of the crime are left alive. The last inmates of the prison housed in the former Tuolsleng school were murdered by the Pol Pot security forces shortly before the liberation of Pnom Penh. A similar fate befell the inmates of other Pnom Penh jails. They were killed by shots fired at point blank range, or with crowbars and rocks. This orgy of murder engulfed all the other Kampuchean cities too.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime marked the last few hours of its existence by massacring innocent people. This was the finale of the horrible tragedy, the script written in Peking, that had lasted almost four years on the blood-soaked soil of Kampuchea.

On victory day, red banners fluttered over Pnom Penh, but the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army and the few inhabitants of the capital were very subdued in their joy, for they had yet to perform the last rites, burying the remains of their murdered countrymen. It is not yet clear how many thousands of people were killed in Pnom Penh on the eve of the regime's downfall. At the Tuolsleng school alone, scores of corpses have been found.

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979

In its death throes, the regime killed the last living eye-witnesses of its crimes, following the rule of all murderers caught in the act and beating a hasty retreat: dead men cannot speak.

But the dead did not just speak—they accused, providing incontestable evidence of the regime's cruelty, a cruelty that was as fantastic as it was inhuman.

It took us only a short time to get there. One of the largest schools in Phnom Penh, with hundreds of classrooms, stood a short distance from the centre. Narrow unpaved streets steeped in the greenery of coconut palms, papaya and thick brush with red, violet and yellow flowers led to that school off the thoroughfares. A solid two-metre, duralumin sheet fence was supplemented by rows of barbed wire entanglements: one outer and two inner. Such a place would normally be referred to as being lonely or isolated, but in a city without people, such epithets lose their meanings. At first, we even thought it strange that the Pol Pot secret police had established one of its hornets' nests here. From whom were they trying to hide the secrets of this prison in an empty city? Who could hear the moaning of the tortured victims? Nobody.

But why was that particular site, that school, turned into a prison? I think the choice was made neither by accident, nor by design. It was made by instinct—for criminals always seek to conceal their dirty work from outsiders. It is also possible that they were not so much afraid of eye-witnesses (although they certainly preferred not to advertise their doings), as revelled in the sufferings of their victims.

There was a time when boys in white shirts and blue trousers, and girls in white blouses and blue skirts used to run about the playground.

But that was all in the past. The Pol Pot regime forced them to put on black uniforms and sent them to village "communes" to work 16 hours a day. Everything that was even slightly reminiscent of education was removed from the Tuolsleng school. Instead, new "equipment" was brought in: crowbars, manacles, shovels, chains, tongs and fetters. There was nothing very sophisticated about this equipment, but since all industry in Kampuchea had been liquidated, all of it had

to be imported from China. While this grim load was on its way to Kampuchea, the school building was surrounded with barbed wire entanglements, the walls between the classrooms broken down, and brick partitions hastily put up. Thus every classroom now accommodated about ten or so solitary confinement cells. These cubicles measured about one metre by one and a half metres and also had chains cemented into the stone floors. Thus the Tuolsleng school became a real prison.

Those who were brought to Pnom Penh were regarded as "especially dangerous criminals"—and that included anyone who, according to the village elder, had shown dissatisfaction with the new order or in any way sympathised with Vietnam. The authorities did not bother about clues or evidence of any kind. All they wanted was for the village elder to report his suspicions to a "superior body". Petty "crimes" such as poor work and complaints about the inadequate food, were dealt with on the spot. Thus only "especially dangerous offenders" against the regime were taken to the prisons in the city.

There "confessions" were wrung out of them, using the most sadistic and brutal torture methods.

That was what all that equipment—crowbars, tongs and electric storage batteries (also used for torture) had been brought here from China. Even now they can be seen standing in every classroom. I saw a pair of tongs in one of the cells. Traces on them made it obvious that they had been used to flay a person alive. A crowbar in a neighbouring solitary confinement cell had caked blood on its tip, and there were several bloody shovels that nobody had bothered to wash.

In the courtyard I came upon a pile of irons and handcuffs. Many of these consisted of chains with semi-circular clips that were fixed to prisoners' wrists and ankles to stop them escaping. A real classic of prison organisation. Also here I saw solid steel rods as thick as one's thumb and about a metre long, with steel nooses attached to them. These were no mere leg fetters. The nooses slid easily up and down the rods. The leverage thus obtained was used for twisting and breaking the victims' legs. I had heard about such rods from

some of the prisoners who had been kept in the dungeons of the puppet regime in South Vietnam.

One of the rooms I came across was the prison warden's office. Standing by the wall was an iron cabinet with many drawers. In these were hundreds of small-sized photographs: men and women, old and young—front view and profile, all of them clad in black shirts with tags sewn on them. The photographs were attached to forms containing the names of the prisoners, their age, place of birth and information about their families. . . . My attention was caught by the heading: "reason for arrest". In most of the forms, this space was left blank. Some of them gave the reason as "the liquidation of a section in such and such an area".

This meant that the suspicion on the part of the security forces had fallen on villagers who were thought to be dissatisfied with the regime. The residents of every Kampuchean village had been divided into sections, squads and even companies in military fashion. A section that voiced even a hint of complaint was pinpointed for extermination. Most people were killed on the spot, while the ring leaders were taken to Phnom Penh for an "investigation". How this investigation was carried out is easy to see from the crowbars, tongs and shovels. The results of the investigation were later found under the schoolyard, where the murdered victims were buried.

Sometimes the heading "reason for arrest" contained just two words "dangerous criminal", without comment.

Careful records were kept not only of the live prisoners, but also of the dead victims. In a room adjoining the prison warden's office there were many photographs strewn on the floor showing executed men with their stomachs ripped open and their heads cut off. The tag number of every victim lay on his body, wrapped carefully in a cellophane bag.

It looks as though the Tuolsleng school was not just an ordinary prison, but rather the nazi-style Gestapo headquarters of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. What else could explain the accuracy and precision of the book-keeping, that meticulous registration of every death. For elsewhere, all over

Kampuchea, people were exterminated in their hundreds and thousands, leaving no record of their identity.

The former school was most likely subjected to the deposed leaders' closest attention. It was probably here that they got rid of not only "rebels", but also those thorn-in-the-flesh eye-witnesses who knew too much about Pol Pot and his retinue—for many revolutionaries who had honestly fought against the French colonialists and US aggressors disappeared without trace in the years that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary were in power. Could it be that they met their tragic death at Tuolsleng?

In their haste to save their wretched skins, however, the jailers failed to destroy the prison files. My Kampuchean friends told me that a commission would soon be set up to investigate the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's crimes. I am sure that even many more facts will yet be brought to light from Tuolsleng prison's grim files. One of the darkest pages in the history of the Kampuchean people must be read in full. In memory of the dead, and as a warning to the living...

* * *

On July 7, 1978, Pol Pot held a reception for a group of Chinese "experts" at the Chamkarmon Palace. The visitors smiled, exchanged toasts and the Chinese ambassador made a long speech that was later broadcast over the radio. He said:

"During the time we have been working in Kampuchea we have seen with our own eyes how the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the party, is accomplishing the socialist revolution, how it is building socialism under conditions of independence and sovereignty, how it has enriched the revolution with new experience. We, dear comrades, have worked making sacrifices and overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, in an effort to raise the material and cultural levels of the people. And..."

Of the whole family only Rum Soth remained alive. All the others had been killed.

I saw Rum Soth in a street in Pnom Penh. She was sitting

on the doorstep of her house, hunched over, hugging her knees. I thought, at first, that she was cold, though it was at least 30° C in the shade. Rum Soth was looking silently at a broken wicker rocking chair lying nearby that was where her father had met his tragic end.

Here is the story of Rum Soth's family as she told it to me.

She is now 24, though she looks 10-15 years older. In the spring of 1975, she was a student in the philology department of Pnom Penh University. Her fiancé was a teacher in the same department. Rum Soth and Mean Phim had both taken part in the student movement against the pro-American Lon Nol regime.

At that time there was a wide-spread feeling that the regime would soon collapse. The students did not conceal their joy as the boom of artillery drew closer to Pnom Penh. They were making ready to greet the liberators, and for that purpose they were learning revolutionary songs, and making holiday posters. On the morning of April 17, the girls at the university were making bouquets out of the most beautiful flowers they could find.

Rum Soth and Mean Phim were planning to mark the day of liberation in their own way. They decided right away to ask the revolutionary authorities to register their marriage. When they set out to greet the soldiers of the liberation forces, Rum Soth's father, with tears running down his cheeks, said he was sorry that illness prevented him from going with his daughter and her fiancé.

The enthusiastic crowds filled the streets of Pnom Penh. Flowers, smiles and colourful costumes were everywhere.

Yet suddenly... At first nobody understood what was happening. The armed men who entered the city began to disperse the people with rifle butts and bayonets. "Cattle! Pigs! Traitors! American minions!" they shouted. Then a military car swept down the streets with an army officer announcing through a megaphone: "Everybody must leave the city. Soon the bombardment will start. All residents must leave the city immediately and for good."

Panic broke out. People rushed home to get their personal belongings. They were followed by armed men who ordered

them to leave everything intact on pain of death. The first shots were fired. A wholesale massacre began in the capital.

Rum Soth and Mean Phim ran home, bewildered. Rum Soth's father, who did not know what had happened, smiled and asked about how the liberators had been welcomed. Rum Soth had no chance to explain for the liberators dressed in black were coming into the front garden. Rum Soth's father jumped up, called his wife, and asked everyone to come into the house to mark the great event. He thought that his daughter and Mean Phim were already married and that the people in black had come to congratulate them.

"Out of the house!" said one of them. "Out of here immediately! Right now!"

He saw that Rum Soth's father was ill and could not walk. He came up and asked what he had been doing before the liberation.

"I am a doctor," replied the father. "And I am prepared to give all my knowledge and skill to the revolution, I am. . ."

He did not finish. "You were treating the traitors, so you are a traitor too," roared the man in black. Then he whipped out his pistol and shot him point blank. . .

Rum Soth remembered only vaguely what happened after that. A heart-rending scream from her mother from far away. Everything went hazy. All she remembered was walking along a village road, in a crowd of people. She saw Mean Phim a short distance away, her mother, her ten-year-old sister and two younger brothers. She wanted to hold back to wait for them, but a heavy blow on her back sent her flying forward.

While Rum Soth spoke she did not weep. There were no tears left. She had cried them all out when she saw all those dear to her die right before her eyes. . . Her mother slumped down on the ground near a palm tree. They had been walking under a scorching sun for three days, and the old woman had no strength left. A guard came up to her and ordered her to get up, but she said she could not.

Somebody had left a hoe nearby. . . The guard pushed the mother's body into a road-side ditch. After that, Rum Soth saw other people being killed. Tens, hundreds of them. . .

Finally they came to a village in the Siem Reap Province.

All the local residents had been evicted. The new arrivals were told that, from now on, this would be their home. Here they would "work for the good of the country and the people". The entire management of the "production, social and cultural life of the commune", they were told, would be exercised by representatives of Angka Loeu (the organisation). This word struck terror into the hearts of Kampuchians all those years.

People worked in the rice fields from 5 am until 11 pm digging irrigation dikes. There were no days off, no holidays. In addition, they often had to work all night on Saturdays as a "voluntary contribution".

Soon disease became rife among the villagers—a result of exhausting work, constant malnutrition and very poor sanitary conditions. One of the most widespread diseases was mental derangement. Mentally ill people were killed on the spot. The men from Angka Loeu used to repeat that "the society that the Kampuchean people embodied must be healthy and strong".

But it was not only the sick who were killed. Death was the most widespread punishment in the "commune", and it soon overtook all the other members of Rum Soth's family. One of her brothers tried to escape into the jungle. He was caught and had his throat cut with a rough jagged palm leaf. The other brother was also killed, because he was a criminal's "relative". A similar fate would certainly have befallen Rum Soth if she had not managed to escape. She and her ten-year-old sister arranged to meet on the edge of the forest so they could go away as far as possible before the next morning. As a rule, the morning after an offender's execution the Angka Loeu men killed his whole family. Rum Soth came to the arranged place late in the evening. She waited for five minutes, but then heard the piercing scream of her little sister. . . .

All that happened much later. Until that day, Rum Soth lived in constant fear of her life, suffering both physically and mentally.

Every day the authorities punished several members of the "youth shock brigades". This was the so-called light punish-

ment for those who had allegedly worked badly, laughed (nobody had laughed in that village for a long time), or for crying (a much more frequent event). Tears and sighs were considered signs of "low" morale.

"Light" punishment included a beating with a bamboo stick. The number of blows was determined by the Angka Loeu men, and was sometimes to as many as 150. Everyone came in for such punishment, even children. It took this form: the guards formed several "companies", and lined up in rows. The "culprit" was stripped naked and laid on the ground, with his legs and arms tied. Two guards rolled the victim on the ground while the third one followed hitting with a stick. When the guards finished rolling the 16-year-old daughter of Rum Soth's neighbours, she was dead. . . .

Once Rum Soth was ordered to come to the room where meetings were generally held. When she came, it was filled with young people, about forty in all, among them her fiancé Mean Phim, whom she had not seen for six months. (They worked in different teams and never had a chance to meet). Everybody was ordered to sit on the floor.

A few minutes later a senior Angka official came in and announced that the time had come for those present to get married. That meant that the young men and women who were sitting closest to each other at the moment were proclaimed man and wife. One girl sitting near Rum Soth said timidly that she was already married. The official gave a sign and two guards dragged the girl out into the street. Two minutes later her screaming stopped. . . .

Rum Soth lifted her head and saw her "husband". He was a stranger of about forty. Further away sat Mean Phim with his "wife".

"Live happily", continued the same monotonous voice. "Beget children in order to strengthen the Khmer race." The wedding ceremony was over, and everybody was sent back to work. The Angka men killed Mean Phim four days later. It turned out that the man who had been appointed Rum Soth's "husband" had for some time been an agent provocateur and an informer. Later Rum Soth found out that he had informed against Mean Phim. He must have guessed that Rum Soth

and Mean Phim were in love. The girl who had been appointed Mean Phim's "wife" was also killed.

Rum Soth saw her "husband" once more, six months later. He and several other men, tied by a single rope, were being led towards the forest by armed men. Among those tied up was the former village elder. He, just as much as his informer, must have lost the confidence of his superiors.

"... In your effort to raise the material and cultural levels of the people," continued the Chinese ambassador at that reception in Pnom Penh, "you have made great progress in agriculture, industry, culture, in education and public health, which inspires every Kampuchean and fills him with great enthusiasm...."

The ambassador said that China regarded Kampuchea's successes as its own. Nobody would doubt the truth of that. The patent on the "new experiment" in Kampuchea undoubtedly belongs to Peking. Using Pol Pot and his clique as their tool, the Chinese Government sought to develop a new race of Kampucheans, a race of morally damaged specimens, only capable of reproducing.

But the Kampucheans had other plans for their future. The terrible regime was finally overthrown. Yet it will take a long time for the Kampuchean people to forget the days when Maoism cast its sinister shadow over their country.

M. Ilyinski

TOTAL GENOCIDE*

Izvestia, January 17, 1979

As soon as the conversation turned to Kampuchea's veteran Communists, the Khmers' faces fell. . . .

The secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Tusamut, had disappeared without trace: liquidated by the Pol Pot clique. The veteran Communist Son Ngok Minh was poisoned in Peking in December 1972. Sienan, former Kampuchea's ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam,

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979

was executed in Pnom Penh by the Pol Pot clique. Insivut, a diplomat, was shot in Pnom Penh immediately after returning from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Journalist Khum was killed with a hoe at Swairieng. Also murdered was Sophim, former member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea....

For more than three years, this ancient land was in mourning. During its first year in power, the Pol Pot clique exterminated more than 800 thousand people, though nobody kept track of the exact numbers. Most political analysts in Indochina believe, however, that in the 44 months the Pol Pot regime was in power, about three million civilians were killed in Kampuchea, while the Cham national minority was all but exterminated. Even the most absurd piece of false information sent anonymously to the security police was quite sufficient grounds for the *soansrokis*—security agents—to kill a person. The most widely used instrument of murder was the ordinary hoe.

One of the Pol Pot security police documents captured during the liberation of Kampuchea shows that, if an agent failed to kill an enemy of the regime, he himself was to be executed. The scythe of death cut wide swathes through the entire population. Hundreds of corpses were carried downstream by the waters of the Mekong and its tributary, the Bassak. The killing of civilians began virtually the same day that the armed forces entered Pnom Penh, on April 17, 1975. Even children who had come out with bunches of flowers to meet Pol Pot's troops were dispersed with rifle butts. Almost all the residents of the capital were driven out of the city. Pnom Penh, which was one of the most beautiful cities in South-East Asia, was turned into a vast cemetery. Wheeling around Pnom Penh in those April days were Chinese Jeeps with loudspeakers, blaring out the new government's orders: "All residents must leave the city for good. Anyone found in Pnom Penh will be shot immediately."

Plundering was rife. Many buildings in the capital were surrounded by barbed wire. In those dismal days of 1975, on Peking's orders, the new regime initiated the monstrous experiment of building an unprecedented society without cities,

without families, and without personal property, and without human dignity. That was the start of the "great leap" back to the Middle Ages. All human rights were trampled upon, and Kampuchea was turned into one huge prison.

I asked Roh Samay, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, about the initial period of the resistance movement against this brutal regime. He replied that the resistance movement had emerged back in September 1975, with a popular uprising in the province of Siem Reap. It was drowned in blood. In one small village alone, more than 300 men were killed in a single day.

In 1976, the resistance movement spread to the provinces of Battambang, Siem Reap, Kandal and Kahkong. Again the security forces heaped cruel reprisals on the people, burning whole villages and killing even distant relatives of the rebels.

"Even children?" I asked.

"Yes. So that they would not be able to avenge their murdered fathers and grandfathers."

In 1977, the uprising spread to eight of the 19 provinces in Kampuchea. In May, 1978, the first areas of the country were liberated.

The Pol Pot clique in Pnom Penh circulated letters ordering the extermination of all dissidents, and elimination of all people of Vietnamese origin. "No mercy for the enemies. Soft-heartedness is a crime," it read.

Hundreds of thousands of people sought refuge from reprisals by escaping to socialist Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. The refugees I met told me that groups of up to a thousand had left their homes. Very often they were ambushed and killed by Pol Pot's soldiers, without either trial or investigation. Only a few out of every hundred would-be refugees from the regime's iron vice actually survived. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of people left Kampuchea and thus saved their lives.

Here is the story of a refugee that makes the blood run cold.

A forty-three-year-old teacher of the Khmer language from the province of Swairieng said that, back in the summer of

1975, he was forced to give up his profession and to do work in the rice fields. That was what happened to all Kampuchean intellectuals and professional people, he said.

"We thought we were lucky, for most intellectuals were killed by Pol Pot's soldiers."

Those soldiers and officers of the Lon Nol pro-American regime who had been taken prisoner were shot on the spot. They were led out of towns and villages and then mowed down by machine-gun fire.

"I myself saw 20 former Lon Nol soldiers being disposed of in this way in Swairieng."

Old folk, unable to work, were also killed. They were beaten to death with sticks and hoes, to the cheers of Pol Pot's soldiers. The same teacher told me that he had once seen a pregnant woman, with three little children clinging to her skirt. In her desperation the woman stole a handful of rice from the public kitchen to give to her starving family. She was immediately seized by the Angka Loeu men, savagely beaten and then forced to dig a long ditch. When she had dug two metres deep, she fell in unconscious, but nobody even tried to help her. Her executioners filled in the ditch, burying her alive.

I have heard many similar stories from Kampuchean refugees, and the conclusion that had to be drawn was that behind every one of these crimes perpetrated by the puppet Pol Pot clique stood Maoist China, which sent more than a billion yuan's worth of assistance to this anti-popular regime every year. More than 20 thousand Chinese advisers were in Kampuchea, and these most certainly shut their eyes to the humiliation and torture the regime inflicted not only on indigenous residents, but also on Kampucheans of Chinese descent. Peking propaganda trumpeted on about non-existent reprisals against ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, yet deliberately kept silent about the orgy of murder and terror in Kampuchea.

Komsomolskaya Pravda, March 5-6, 1979

**Postscript to the reports
from Pnom Penh about the crimes committed
by Peking's stooges in Kampuchea**

It was not they who headed the Khmer people in the national struggle against the colonialists, and against the imperialist aggressors. Nor was it they who led the Kampucheans to victory against the pro-American puppet regime in 1975. They only claimed to have been in the front ranks of the patriotic struggle, though in actual fact they were very much in the rear. But when the opportunity came to stab the victorious nation in the back, stab they did, without flinching.

But who are these people? How did they manage to deceive and mislead the Khmer patriots who had fought selflessly for the freedom and independence of their country? How could they sneak their way to the helm of the Kampuchean revolution, to usurp power in the party and the government? How could it have happened that the whole country was plunged into a national catastrophe, that the Khmers were brought to the verge of extinction? And what was Peking's part in this monstrous scheme? What was the purpose of it all?

Questions, questions, questions. I put them to almost everybody, to everyone I met during my trip to Kampuchea. Many facts still aren't known, and the pages describing the history of the past several years have not yet been read in full. Neither have all the facts been collected that are needed to get to the bottom of this monstrous treachery. There are no living witnesses to the crime: they were "taken care of" by the traitors, as were any incriminating documents.

Yet the anatomy of the crime cannot be concealed now that the traitors have been exposed, especially since it was committed on such a colossal scale. There is no doubt that, in time, all the pieces will fall into place. But even now,

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979

many of the facts are known and much of the evidence produced by those survivors of mass murders with whom I talked in Pnom Penh during my tour of the country suggests that Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and their retinue were essentially foreign bodies in the Kampuchean revolution; they were nothing but stooges for Peking.

Some time ago, American magazines wrote that Pol Pot had, in his younger days, taken part in the struggle against the Japanese militarists, but what he actually did, when, and where, no one seems to know. The only thing that has been established fairly certainly is that Pol Pot, together with Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan and Son Sen (Minister of Defence of the deposed regime), with Khieu Polnari (Pol Pot's future wife) and her sister Khieu Tirit (who later married Ieng Sary) studied in France. Then come many years that are not accounted for.

Only in the 1960s did Pol Pot and his men appear in the jungles of Kampuchea and join the national liberation movement. Nobody knows where exactly they came from, though many believe he had spent all these years in China. It looks as though Pol Pot were very anxious to conceal this. He also kept silent about the fact that his real name is Salot Sar, and that his mother was Chinese. Neither did Ieng Sary advertise the fact that his mother was of Chinese origin, and that his father was half Chinese. It is easy to guess why they were so secretive about their parentage, for it is well known that Peking has always tried to put people of Chinese descent in the countries of South-East Asia to its own uses.

Pol Pot clearly "benefited" from the years he spent in China. Together with Ieng Sary, and Son Sen he adopted an extreme left ideology.

Backed by Peking, he set up the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia with Prince Norodom Sihanouk at the head. Leaving the Prince in the care of the Peking leaders, who promptly started brainwashing him, Pol Pot returned to Kampuchea in order to build up political capital there. The main tool, whereby he eventually attained power, was his inordinate capacity for lies and his hypocrisy.

"We did not know Pol Pot well enough at the time," said Keo Tian, Minister of Information and a veteran of the liberation struggle. "He very skilfully concealed his views, and spoke about the need to fight resolutely against the Lon Nol puppet regime, and that a socialist society would certainly be built in Kampuchea. People believed him..."

Pol Pot and his associates were truly master liars. In Phnom Penh I found a booklet in a dark red cover entitled *The Armed Struggle and the Life of the Khmer People in the Liberated Areas*. It was a collection of photo-stories published by the National United Front back in 1972. The first part dealt with the achievements of the patriotic forces in the struggle against the reactionary pro-American Lon Nol regime. The pictures in the second part of the book told about the crimes committed by the Lon Nol troops and American soldiers against Kampuchean civilians: demolished houses and pagodas, murdered children, women and old people. One of the photographs showed two Kampuchean women killed in a bombing raid. The caption under the picture read: "Lon Nol lied brazenly, saying they were killed by the Vietnamese aggressors!" The third section of the book was about the life of the Kampuchean population in the liberated areas: smiling young men and women, a class of schoolchildren, a dance class rehearsing, a public meeting in support of the National United Front of Cambodia.

The Kampucheans believed what the book of pictures in the red cover said. Indeed, who would have thought then that, three years later, the men who had exposed the crimes of the Lon Nol puppet regime would perpetrate still more monstrous crimes against their own people. Who could foresee that those who promised the Kampucheans a peaceful and happy life would close down all the schools, would "outlaw" such things as dancing, and even laughing? Who could have known that the men who had called the Vietnamese their comrades-in-arms would make an about-face and call them aggressors, would order them killed and their villages reduced to ashes?

Today we know exactly who, in those early days, was aware of all that: Pol Pot and his closest associates, plus, no doubt, the rulers in Peking. They were also planning the

mass murder of Kampuchians and the unleashing of a Kampuchean-Vietnamese war. There is no other way to explain why the Kampuchean troops border provocations against the Vietnamese armed forces began only a few days after Pol Pot took over. He and his Peking masters planned to fit their actions to their words.

But the bridled anti-Vietnamese propaganda, the brutal murder of Vietnamese civilians, and the genocide in Kampuchea began much later. Meanwhile Pol Pot continued his lying. Here is an excerpt from a letter he sent on October 3, 1974 to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party (now the Communist Party of Vietnam.—*A.L.*). "The Kampuchean revolution has lately mounted an offensive to achieve a victory of strategic importance over the US imperialists and the reactionary Pnom Penh clique. This means that our Party is pursuing a correct policy and that our people are fighting resolutely and courageously under our Party's leadership. But all our victories would have been impossible without the support of our brothers and comrades-in-arms, the Party and people of Vietnam."

A few months earlier, on March 4, 1974, Pol Pot had written to the Vietnamese leaders: "I want to assure you, frankly and with an open heart, that, whatever the circumstances, I shall remain loyal to the great solidarity and the great revolutionary fraternal friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam."

Pol Pot lied to the Kampuchians and he lied to the Vietnamese. Pretending to be a friend of the true fighters for the freedom and independence of Kampuchea, he shamelessly borrowed their words, if not their thoughts, in order to win their trust and then betray it.

April 1975 and the Kampuchians looked forward for victory and the long-awaited peace. Nobody suspected treachery. Or rather, very few people did. Significantly, even then, some more far-sighted people had seen through the leaders of the now deposed regime, and discerned the true face of Pol Pot and others, though it was carefully concealed under a "revolutionary" mask. Such people began to vanish one by one, without trace. . . .

The nation was condemned to death by the Chinese leaders, with Pol Pot and Ieng Sary as the chief executioners. After the regime's downfall when the world became aware of the mammoth proportions of its crime, the Peking leaders pretended that they had not known what was really going on, had known nothing about massacres and the genocide. This is an outright lie. The Chinese leaders not only knew about it, they even sanctioned the mass murders and genocide. Why? For what purpose? They wanted the Kampuchean people exterminated and ten million Chinese resettled in Kampuchea. I learned about this monstrous plan from Kampuchean comrades during my stay in Pnom Penh. Since the Peking leaders regarded Kampuchea as part of Chinese territory, they deemed it their right to decide the nation's fate. Thus on April 17, 1975, the Chinese began to carry out the death sentence they had passed on Kampuchea.

Pol Pot and his confederates had prepared the ground for this plan. Thom Boreth, a battalion commander from Preiveng, told me:

"Long before 1975 I felt that Pol Pot and his associates had begun to follow a political line directed against the veterans of the national liberation movement. The party organisation of our district held regular meetings criticising all those who had taken part in the resistance movement against the French colonialists. Young people were forced to accuse them. We were told that only the young could understand the leaders' new revolutionary course, that the older generation of revolutionaries had absorbed too much Vietnamese ideology and were unable to understand local conditions. We believed all those tales and thought our older comrades would have to readjust to keep up with the times. They were taken away to attend 'political courses', so we were told. If anyone asked why a particular comrade had not come back, he was told that after finishing the course, the absent comrade had been reassigned to another province. By 1975, there was not a single veteran revolutionary left in our party organisation. But nobody gave a serious thought to this, and nobody found anything odd about

it. We were constantly being told that the leaders were thinking a lot about us and that all we had to do was to carry out their instructions and directives. When the campaign began against the veteran revolutionaries, we noticed that the little red book of Mao's quotations was being circulated in growing numbers. We were forced to study it and were told that the little red book contained all that was necessary for the development of the Kampuchean revolution."

As I was told later, the "political courses" were just a pretext for quietly disposing of the old revolutionary cadres without arousing suspicion. The participants in the resistance movement against the French colonialists, and then all those who had so staunchly fought against the US aggressors and the puppets of the American imperialists, were put to death. All the killings were done in the jungle, with no one around to see. These people posed a great danger to Pol Pot, and constituted a serious obstacle to the realisation of the plans conceived in Peking. Deeply imbued with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and brought up in the spirit of friendship and battle-field solidarity with the Vietnamese Communists, who had shared all the hardships of the struggle against the common enemy, they would not have been taken in by a handful of renegades. They would not have allowed anyone to mislead the new generation of Kampucheans, who were politically immature and not sufficiently versed in the revolutionary struggle, the people who, on Pol Pot's orders, brought their picks down on the heads of their countrymen.

As the victory over the pro-American regime drew closer, thanks to the courage of the Kampuchean people and their common struggle with the Vietnamese (and not owing to Pol Pot's services in this struggle, as he later insisted), the purges—both horizontally and vertically became more and more extensive. Pol Pot was in a hurry to get rid of potential opponents at all levels of party leadership.

He was still afraid to attack the top leaders of the liberation struggle, but their fate had also been decided. Soon after Pol Pot took power, Hu Yun, Minister of Internal Affairs, Hu Nim, Minister of Information in the Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia that had been set up in Peking,

and certain other reportedly "moderate" leaders vanished without trace. At the same time, Pol Pot removed Prince Sihanouk from the political scene, since he wielded considerable influence over the peasant masses, and was a sort of banner in the struggle against the Lon Nol regime. The "banner" faded and turned to tatters, so it was no longer needed. The Prince was sent away, out of the capital, to the province of Siem Reap where he lived under house arrest. After Pol Pot was deposed, Peking again tried to present Prince Sihanouk as the symbol of the Kampuchean nation (or rather the deposed regime), this time at the United Nations. But the "banner" had long since become no more than a faded rag that left the world organisation unimpressed.

Let us go back to the leaders of the regime. There were only a few of them: Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, Son Sen. Their wives also held top posts in the state, which bore the quaint name of Democratic Kampuchea. It was these eight people, tied together as they were with the bonds of kinship and their joint crimes, that wielded full power in the country. The road to realisation of Peking's assignment was thus open and Kampuchea was turned into a giant slaughterhouse. Pol Pot's lies and hypocrisy, which had for a long time served him as a means for gaining power, were now unnecessary, and he began to say what he thought. He removed his revolutionary mask (although he still claims to be a revolutionary) and announced that one million of the eight million Kampucheans would be quite sufficient for building a "socialist society such as the world has never seen".

Pol Pot was no theoretician, however. He merely executed the will of his superiors and moved towards his objective as doggedly as a police agent paid a lot of money to do his boss's will. The mass murders in Kampuchea, the extermination of whole segments of the population, the genocide on a nationwide scale in a country that Pol Pot called his native land, make one think that Kampuchea was not really his homeland, even if he was born there. It seems that all Kampucheans were in his way, that he wanted to get rid of them. And the one million he would have magnanimously allowed to exist, would apparently have been expected to work for the Chinese who

intended to move into the country. After all, colonists have always needed natives to do chores for them.

For all its monstrous savagery, the plan was also devilishly subtle.

The entire population of Kampuchea was divided into three categories. The third, and lowest of them, stood for people who had once served in the Lon Nol regime. These included intellectuals, former big traders, businessmen. The second (a higher category) included all the other residents of the regions controlled by the Lon Nol administration. The first, or highest, category consisted of the population that, at that time, lived in the liberated areas.

People in the second and third categories were declared enemies of the nation and were all to be annihilated. Also slated for execution were any "pro-Vietnamese elements", mostly the population of the regions bordering on Vietnam, and all Kampucheans of Vietnamese descent.

The men whom Peking and Pol Pot intended to carry out their criminal designs were picked from among the illiterate peasants of the first category and from among the young and ideologically immature soldiers of the "liberation forces". To trick them into submission, the Pol Pot administration told them that the main reason for their hard life in the past and the principal obstacle to their future happiness were the people of the cities, all those belonging to the third category. According to the theory propounded by these criminals, killing was necessary in order to defeat the enemies. The flywheel of mass murder was, according to the authors of this pseudo-theory, to gain momentum, but needed a push to get it started. A solution was finally found and the witch-hunt began. The exposure and destruction of "enemies" was encouraged in every way. For every murder its perpetrator was thanked publicly; he was also promoted, thus further whetting his zeal. The flywheel spun faster and faster. The desire to exterminate "enemies" grew, as did the intoxication of doing so with impunity. The logic was simple: "You were my neighbour, but you could read and write; you had a profession and I was a little man, and nobody really cared if I existed at all; I had to grovel before you. But now it is I who will decide your fate!"

The killers were drunk on the blood they spilled, and this in turn aroused their basest instincts. The leaders of the regime no longer had to inculcate the "idea" in their subordinates. Mass murder became the norm. But there was still another element, besides the "idea" and the intoxication with power—and that element was fear. A person who, day in day out, has killed his fellow citizens cannot help being afraid of those around him. He anticipates some reaction and regards everybody as his personal enemy. Such a reaction is, of course, only to be expected, for people cannot walk in fear of their lives all the time. Some just complained about their lot, others killed their tormentors, yet others escaped into the jungle, to neighbouring Vietnam and Thailand where they took refuge from the nightmare. "I killed so as not be killed myself," said an arrested Pol Pot functionary, when foreign journalists, including myself, were allowed to meet such people. "I was afraid that I would be killed by the villagers, and I also feared my superiors. Many of us were executed for being too soft."

Thus the machinery of extermination was switched on to "automatic control", which did not, of course, stop the leaders of the regime from adding fuel to the fire, in order to keep the destructive process going. The hysterical yelling about Vietnam's alleged attempts to engulf Kampuchea did its job. The Pol Pot soldiers ran berserk when they raided frontier towns and villages on the Vietnamese side. Peking's leaders did not lack resourcefulness this time, either. Since the Kampucheans were going to be wiped off the face of the earth as a nation anyway, why shouldn't they, in the process, help implement Peking's anti-Vietnamese plans?

The Chinese leaders kept a watchful eye on what was going on in Kampuchea. The trips that the leaders of the Kampuchean regime made to Peking, the visits to Kampuchea by the emissaries of the "Celestial Empire" and the presence of a large contingent of Chinese experts and servicemen exploded their claims to ignorance. What actually happened was that Peking turned Kampuchea into a giant laboratory for testing its political, economic and military concepts.

The tragedy of the Kampuchean people serves as additional

proof that Maoism is dangerous for the world. Peking calls itself a friend of oppressed people fighting for their liberation. This is a downright lie! Peking has betrayed those people at every opportunity, whenever such betrayal has suited its purpose. And it continues to do so, with the help of renegades and opportunists of the lowest order.

M. Ozerov

THEY KNOW WHAT HELL MEANS*

October, No. 3, 1979

The slender towers of the beautiful Angkor-Wat temple rise up like the buds of lotus blossoms in the middle of the jungle. These golden towers, considered one of the wonders of the world, are depicted on the red flag now flying over Pnom Penh, other towns and villages in Kampuchea.

For more than four years Kampuchea was nothing but one huge prison, where people were killed for any reason at all, or simply at will.

Now Kampuchea is a free state with all the power in the hands of the people themselves. The new government—the People's Revolutionary Council—has declared the building of socialism as its goal. Its foreign policy supports peace with all countries, co-operation, neutrality and non-alignment, friendship with all its neighbours, and especially with fraternal socialist Vietnam.

In his greetings to liberated Kampuchea, Leonid Brezhnev stressed that the people had risen against a regime that was hateful to them, against a tyranny imposed on them from outside.

How did they triumph? How did they succeed in raising the flag of the People's Revolutionary Council?

What I saw on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border and heard from the Khmers themselves provides some of the answers. Yet, it is very important to find the answers and trace the course of events in Kampuchea in order to understand

* Heading supplied by the editor.

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what the previous rulers came to in their blind obedience to Peking and their desire to carry out Mao's "cultural revolution" on Kampuchean soil.

THE FAMILY FROM SWAIRIENG PROVINCE

All three of them were no more than skeletons, just skin and bones. The boy's arm hung loosely at his side and the girl's body was covered with sores. They were from Swairieng Province in the south of Kampuchea, and had previously lived in a town. The father had worked in a textile factory, and the mother at the post office. After the change of government, the factory was shut down, as was the post office, and the family sent off into the jungle. There they set up a "people's commune"—essentially a concentration camp with a machine-gun tower like that at every other "commune". The inhabitants were not allowed to leave the camp even to visit relatives.

At the Psot "commune", five thousand people worked on the rice paddies from dawn to dusk. They fell from exhaustion, someone dying every day. There was nothing to eat: just a bowl of rice and a little salt twice a day, while the gathering of wild vegetables and fruit was forbidden. In the time they were not working, in the evenings, from 7 to 9 pm, there were meetings, usually about Vietnam's "aggressiveness".

"In the 'commune', we were absolutely forbidden to read," said the eldest child, a sixteen-year-old boy whose name is Kom.

At night he would get up, creep to a nearby coconut palm, and take something wrapped in rags out of a hollow in it.

What had Kom hidden there? A weapon or explosives maybe?

No, something still more dangerous in the view of the authorities—books. The soldiers killed one of the commune's inhabitants simply because he was holding a piece of paper in his hand, which they thought was a letter. If they found a magazine or a book, the whole family was killed. This is why Kom clasped the parcel close and hurried into the jungle. There, by the light of a pocket torch, he undid the parcel

and read, and read, and read. In this precious parcel he kept *History of Kampuchea* and another four books that he had managed to hide when his school was closed down. The teachers had been arrested immediately, along with the senior pupils who might have spread "subversive ideas". All the books were taken away and burned.

"Later I wasn't up to reading," the boy went on. "My little sister Lam fell ill. Father said he'd try to find some medicine. He left but never came back. Our neighbours told us the soldiers had killed our father for having dared to ask for medicine. They made him dig a hole and buried him alive in it. Two days later, Lam, who was only six, died."

Kom couldn't go on with his story; his brother and sister were weeping, and he was almost in tears himself. It is hardly creditable that this was all happening in the modern world.

Kom showed me a photograph of his mother at the front of the house they used to live in. She had a delicate oval face, almond eyes and a soft smile. "Our beautiful Si" the neighbours used to call her. And how she used to sing!

After the deaths of her husband and daughter, Si began to look sixty years old, though she was only thirty-five. For days on end she would sit without moving. Everyone thought she had gone mad.

One morning, she ran up to a passing officer and spat in his face. All the members of the "commune" were herded to their house. Kom, his two brothers and sister were standing next to their mother. She was ordered by the officer to sing.

The woman remained silent. Then the soldiers grabbed her three-year old son by his arms and legs and simply ripped him apart. "If you don't sing" screamed the officer, "we'll kill the lot of you!", hitting another child with his machine-gun butt. Since then Nyam has been unable to use his arm. The soldiers fell on the daughter, threw her to the ground, and began to beat her.

That was when the mother started to sing. She sang a song that her husband had liked, about two lovers sitting by a stream, looking into the starry sky and dreaming of happiness. . . .

The soldiers poured petrol over Si and set fire to her.

I was aware of the terrible terror that reigned in Kampuchea. Those who managed to escape to Vietnam (and there were over 200 thousand of them!) told me about the brutality of the ruling regime and, most terrible of all, they said that literally several million people had been killed. Evidently Pol Pot's repeated statement that "We only need a million of Kampuchea's eight million people" was being implemented to the letter.

At 7.30 am on April 17, 1975, the unconditional surrender of the government and the end of the civil war were announced, and only a day later, two million people were already on the road. Where were they going? To the countryside, the mountains, the forests. To where, according to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, "the Kampuchean people were to be reborn, cleansed of foreign filth and become even stronger than the ancient builders of the Angkor-Wat temple".

Although they made all Khmers work with hoes and "abolished" the towns, the grain harvest dropped to almost a half in less than four years.

What about Pnom Penh? People on the spot said that virtually no one lived there any more, only about 20 thousand civil servants, technical experts, and, of course, the military. Swallows nested in the empty halls of the Central Post Office, while the National Bank lay in ruins. The windows and doors of the huge Hotel Monorom were boarded up. The Olympic stadium, once the pride of the country (built specially for the Asian Games in 1966, when Khmer sportsmen won 13 gold, 35 silver and 57 bronze medals), had been turned into a banana and manioc plantation. The central market was empty and the shops closed. Diplomats had very limited freedom of movement, and foreign embassies had no telephone connections either with one another or with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Here is what Ma Xi, a Pnom Penh student, told me on the Kampuchean border.

"When the government changed, our university was shut down straight away. My lecturers and friends began, one by one, to disappear. It became clear that the idea was to get

rid of everyone 'infected' by culture. I went into the countryside and pretended to be an illiterate peasant, and that is how I managed to stay alive."

It was absolutely essential for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime to annihilate everyone with even a smattering of an education, destroy architectural monuments, pagodas and statues, to turn libraries and museums into warehouses, and keep the people at the zero cultural level in general. Otherwise how could they have implemented their anti-scientific concepts, using barbaric mediaeval methods in an attempt to turn the country back to virtually a primitive-communal system.

With absolute terror and dictatorship the Kampuchean leaders were, as the American journal *National Review* remarked, trying to erase and destroy the old social structure of the country, its economy, culture, and customs, and to uproot any intimation of free thought.

One of the few foreign journalists allowed to visit Kampuchea, a correspondent from the Japanese telegraph agency, rightly asked where else in the world there was a state without towns, without money, without private property and where 12 to 13-year olds were forced to work.

Other journalists put the question in a more stinging and open form: Where else was there such a cruel and merciless annihilation of an entire nation?

ESCAPE

"The morning they executed Mother," Kom went on with his bitter tale, "they made me dig a grave—not for Mother, she was burned, but for my brother. They made me do it with a knife. I was gouging at the hard ground while the soldiers stood around laughing and saying over and again: 'If you start crying, you can dig another grave too—for yourself.' I was afraid I wouldn't be able to stop myself going for them. But I had a sister and little Nyam to look after now, both of them crippled, too!"

Not a day passed without somebody being killed in the "commune". "What for," I asked. "Because they said they

didn't feel well, or were late for work, or picked up a banana from the ground. The soldiers killed just for the hell of it," Kom explained. "They killed our neighbour when he refused to get married."

"Get married?!" I exclaimed.

"Yes. To a sixty-year-old nun."

"Why was he supposed to do that?" I asked.

"For the sake of the struggle against religion," Kom answered, then, after a moment's silence, went on, "My friend was executed because he fell in love." In Kampuchea, love was considered a serious crime. Young people were not allowed to even talk to one another.

In the Psot "commune", the following was the usual execution procedure. The victims were buried up to the neck and then bashed on the head with hoes. They were never shot—the bullets were being saved for the main enemy—Vietnam.

"When did you decide to escape?" I asked Kom.

"After they killed Mother. At any moment the soldiers would return to do away with the 'family of criminals'."

When I went to the camp for Kampuchean refugees to see these children, our Jeep got stuck on the country road, because there had just been heavy rain. We had to go on on foot, taking a short-cut through the jungle. About forty minutes later we were having difficulty moving ahead, the sweat dripping into our eyes and our legs as heavy as lead from tiredness. The person in the lead sometimes had to take an axe to hack a way through.

The jungle is full of poisonous snakes and malaria mosquitoes, while even leopards and panthers are quite frequent. It was easy to understand what the children had gone through, in the four months before they got to the frontier and met the Vietnamese guards.

"Once," Kom recalled, "we came across a huge field full of vehicles. And there were about five Chinese standing around in uniform, with a group of Kampuchean officers running around them."

"Were there many Chinese in Kampuchea?" I asked.

"Yes, very many. One of them often came to our 'commune'. He was old and fat. He didn't talk, just gave commands."

No talk, just commands—naturally, for it was China that kept the terrorists in power in Kampuchea, which they brought to a level of human suffering unprecedented in the world.

Pnom Penh frequently claimed that the country had “obtained economic independence”. In fact the Chinese had virtually flooded the country. Not only technical experts but military men as well.

These Chinese military were everywhere—in artillery and tank divisions, in the airforce and the navy. It was they, dressed in Kampuchean uniforms, who guarded the capital and the government buildings, for the regime could not trust its own forces. Who, indeed, could they trust? The “top men”—Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Defence Minister Son Sen—were relatives. The other leaders were selected also on the kinship principle. Nepotism and mutual guarantee flourished among the narrow group of people that had seized power.

Moreover, they held this power mainly with Chinese bayonets, more precisely machine guns, tanks and artillery, which arrived in Kampuchea in an endless flow. The Peking leaders were in a belligerent mood. “The Chinese people and the People’s Liberation Army of China”, announced Chen Xilien, Deputy Premier of the Chinese State Council, “will stand firmly on the side of the people and army of Kampuchea; we will teach each other and support each other in scoring our common success.”

Everybody knows how successful they were, the result being the shameful collapse of the Pnom Penh clique!

“IT WAS A TERRIBLE NIGHT”

I asked Kom whether there were any Chinese emigrants in their “commune”.

“About fifty of them,” he replied. “Then no one was left. They were all killed—accused of plotting and burned. Two managed to escape with us.”

I wrote down word for word the story told me by a Huaqiao—a Chinese emigrant who managed to escape to Vietnam.

"My name is Lam Tkhan. I used to live in Kampong Som in the west of Kampuchea. In our part of the town there were mainly Chinese. One night, straight after the coup, soldiers burst in on us. They claimed to be searching for weapons, but in fact beat up anyone they came across. Not just beat them, either. They threw one woman out of a window before my very eyes. And raped my neighbour's daughter, a schoolgirl. When her father ran to help her, the soldiers shot him. It was a terrible night. The most terrible in my whole life.

"In the morning we were thrown out of our homes and lined up in columns. We weren't allowed to take anything with us because, they said, everything now belonged to the state. In the mountains we were divided into several groups. Those who had previously worked for the government or been in the army were taken aside and stoned. They did the same to doctors, students and engineers. The third group included those who had had their own businesses, who had been in trade. First they were undressed and searched. If any gold or money was found, the whole family was killed. My friend, the Chinese Tet Suk and his children had nails driven into the back of their heads.

"That day I lost yet another old friend, Khia Pkhet. Everyone who was in no condition to work was put into a separate group: old people, the sick and disabled. Khia Pkhet was strong and healthy. It was Pol Pot's soldiers who broke his leg, so he limped, and was dealt with like the rest.

"Those who survived were sent to build a canal. We carted earth in enormous, heavy baskets. The overseers beat us with bamboo sticks and kept shouting: 'Get a move on, you idle devils!' If a moan should escape you at that moment, they killed you on the spot. In fact they really preferred to kill rather than beat: it was less trouble!

"I managed to escape and cross the frontier. Now I am in Vietnam, in the province of Dong Thap."

The way the Huaqiao were treated is further evidence of the glaring hypocrisy of the Maoists. In the spring of 1978, Peking initiated operation nan'tsiao. The idea was to encourage the Chinese living in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to leave the country. The PRC put everything into the pursuit

of this "great goal"! They bribed. They threatened. They made fantastic promises of a virtual heaven waiting for people at "home".

While putting open pressure on Vietnamese citizens, bewailing the non-existent persecution of them, endlessly repeating "China is everywhere where there are Chinese", Peking said not a word when, in another neighbouring state, people of the same nationality were dealt with by the most brutal methods.

Why exactly? Because, for Peking, the 500,000 Huaqiao living in Kampuchea (how many remain alive is not known) were a trifle compared with its "global plans" with respect to the Pnom Penh regime.

AS THE ABBOT COMMANDED

I spent a week on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean frontier, talking in detail with local leaders, visiting the camp for Kampuchean refugees and that for prisoners of war. Previously the Vietnamese and Khmers in this region had been good neighbours. They traded with each other and built dams together. After April 1975, however, the entire border was made into a military zone and the people herded out of their villages. Then armed sorties began into Vietnamese territory.

"For whose benefit?" asks Hoang Tung, the chief editor of *Nhan Dan*, answering his own question, "For China's and China's alone."

I arrived at the *Nhan Dan* office at a busy moment, with only an hour left before the next issue of the paper was to be signed for press. Even so, Hoang Tung willingly gave me his views.

"South-East Asia holds a special place in China's plans. The latter sees the area as a spring-board for establishing its domination over all Asia. Our country is the main thorn in its flesh. This is why Peking has thrown everything against Vietnam."

"Why," I asked, "do you think the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime so took Peking's fancy?"

"I think there are two reasons. First, the Maoists decided to build their version of 'socialism' in another country after failing at home. They hoped that by starting the experiment from scratch and, what is more, in a small state, they would be successful. Pnom Penh blindly accepted already outdated dogma, began to repeat borrowed slogans of 'people's communes', 'cultural revolution', 'big leaps', 'self-reliance' and so on. But the results of Peking's 'social experimentation' in Kampuchea were, of course, deplorable."

"Second, and no less important," Hoang Tung went on, "is Peking's hegemonistic goals in foreign policy. The PRC chose Kampuchea as the centre of its struggle against Vietnam, which is a serious obstacle to the Maoists' designs. In general, to provoke conflict between neighbours has long been a favourite method of the Chinese rulers."

In all recent years, the PRC has been advertising the thesis that historically only two civilisations exist in Eastern Asia: the Chinese and the Khmer. At the same time, Peking has encouraged Kampuchea in military ventures against Vietnam, imposing on the country the Maoist slogan: "Only by the rifle can the whole world be transformed." As a result, in its foreign policy, too, Pnom Penh did what it was told, and continued doing it. How many times after 1975 did Vietnam call on Pnom Penh to stop the bloodshed! But Pnom Penh ignored these calls, as did Peking.

In 1978, the Kampucheans made over 3,000 incursions into Vietnam. They made barbaric attacks on villages, burned homes, fired on Vietnam with artillery. The artillery attacks were combined with propaganda ones.

In Vietnam they have a saying: monks sing as the abbot commands. Peking commanded, and the "monks", that is, the Kampuchean leaders, sang. They sang of the need to win back supposedly "lost land in Vietnam". They also sang a "historical song" about how, even in the ancient past, the Khmer rulers had joined forces with the Chinese to fight Dai Viet (as Vietnam used to be called), that in the 11th century the Sun Chinese dynasty concluded a compact with Cambodia and their armies surged to the south.

In contrast to Kampuchea, however, Vietnam preferred to

recall not military confrontations in the distant past, but something else. The Voice of Vietnam radio station spoke of how many generations of Vietnamese and Khmers had helped each other, fighting together to overcome the common enemy. When, in 1970, the Sihanouk government was overthrown by pro-American forces headed by Lon Nol, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam rendered assistance to Cambodian revolutionaries who rose to resist the puppet regime.

In Pnom Penh, the radio went on, everything was done to make the people forget about this; all Khmer revolutionaries returning from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were killed. The Kampuchean propaganda was based on lies and falsifications, and more—on the propagation of violence and cruelty.

I saw people who had been taught to kill.

... The camp for Kampuchean prisoners of war is situated eighty kilometres from Ho Chi Minh. I was present during the interrogation of Chan Mon, a former company commander. He looked sullenly away and hissed through his teeth:

"They taught us that Kampuchea is building true socialism, that Vietnam and the Soviet Union are preventing us, while China, who is our old friend and brother, is helping us."

"Who taught you this?"

"Our commanders. And the Chinese. I remember, one gave a talk to us. He said: 'You are fighting not only against Vietnamese soldiers, but against the whole of Vietnam. So spare nothing and no one. When you seize a village, kill everybody and burn everything.'"

Sixty-two corpses, almost all of them without arms or legs. Burnt homes and gardens. Thus appeared a village in the Vietnamese province of Tay Ninh after Mon's soldiers had left it.

The Vietnamese captain in charge of the interrogation couldn't stand it any more, and rose from his seat. How easy to understand what he felt! Seven years before his battalion had been ordered to give immediate assistance to the Kampuchean soldiers, who had no ammunition left. The battalion travelled day and night through the dense jungle until the soldiers' feet were bleeding, their clothes in tatters, and their

shoulders raw from carrying the weight of the ammunition boxes. Finally, however they reached their goal and delivered the cartridges to a Kampuchean detachment engaged in fighting against the Americans.

In one battle the captain was seriously wounded, and was looked after in one of the border villages by an old Khmer woman, who treated him with forest herbs.

Chan Mon said that he had been sent on punitive operations within Kampuchea itself, too. The people he was to "punish", including children, women and old people, were usually declared "henchmen of Zuon" (that is, of the Vietnamese).

The prisoners held in the camp were, of course, of different types. There were also some who had refused to participate in the fratricidal war and surrendered to the Vietnamese. I also saw fourteen and fifteen-year-old "soldiers". Kampuchean rulers have been in a tight corner to start recruiting teenagers!

In fact, what sort of life could there be in a country transformed into a testing ground for monstrous experiments! It was inevitable, that the uprising broke out in the land of the Khmers in late 1978. Under the leadership of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, the patriots liberated one region after another. The army, whose main function had been not to defend the country—for no one, after all, was attacking it or even intended to—but to wield the harshest terror against the peaceful population, disintegrated before their eyes. Dozens of thousands of armed soldiers went over to the insurgents.

Nothing could shake the Kampucheans' resolution to regain their freedom—neither the step-up in the reprisals by the authorities, nor the increased deliveries of military hardware from China.

REBIRTH

The reactions to the success of the United Front differed in various parts of the world. The Kampucheans' true friends wished them victory with all their hearts. But there were those who only thought of how to make political capital out of the situation.

For three and a half years the world was dismayed by the brutal acts of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. But then the Americans suddenly began to express their concern about "certain violations of human rights in Kampuchea". Had these only just come to light? Of course not. Previously the Americans had simply preferred to keep quiet, but once the Pnom Penh upper echelons began to loose their footing, they decided it would be a good idea to give them a kick and thus demonstrate their "principled stand" in the struggle for human rights.

Exactly what this principled stand was worth soon became clear, however.

"Act of aggression. . . ."

"Vietnam seized Kampuchea. . . ."

Since January 1979 such vociferous announcements have filled the newspapers and television screens of some countries. They grew increasingly clamorous as the United Front's forces went on to victory. After the collapse of the regime, the propaganda burst reached its climax, and has not let up to this day.

Talk about a funny combination of voices in this cacophonous choir! Those of the Peking leaders, West European journalists and American politicians.

After the United Front's victory, the USA "forgot" how it had condemned Pol Pot's reprisals and did everything to whitewash him, distorting what had actually happened in Kampuchea. The US State Department acceded to Maoist fabrications about "Vietnam's aggression". The same idea was put over on TV by former Secretary of State Kissinger. The American press draws an attractive image of the pro-Peking puppet regime, whome Vietnam was encouraged to attack by the Russians.

Vietnam an invader? Wait a minute, gentlemen, surely all the indications are that it was the Khmers themselves, rather than anyone from outside, who rose against the Pol Pot regime. What is more, the uprising involved the entire people in a drive to protect the nation from extinction.

How enthusiastically the people greeted their liberators! It was the same everywhere: in Kratieh and Swairieng, in Battambang and Pnom Penh. But perhaps it wasn't the Khmers who threw flowers at the soldiers of the United

Front and embraced them? Perhaps it was Vietnamese or Russians dressed to look like Khmers?

The wave of general hatred against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime was so great that it collapsed as soon as the uprising took hold of the country. The *Washington Post* called the patriots' victory one of the most rapid and amazing operations in modern history. Early in January, the flag of the United Front was raised over Pnom Penh. The former government retired to Peking, together with their Chinese advisors.

It was as if Pnom Penh was reborn. There were crowds of people in the streets, and everything was clean. The rubbish that had filled the city was collected up by special youth brigades.

The local authorities see to security and order, provide the population with foodstuffs and implements, and are restoring the economy.

The new government has literally thousands of matters, both big and small, to deal with: healing the wounds inflicted by the former regime; restoring the ruined economy; laying roads and building bridges; opening factories, schools and hospitals; bringing back the monetary system.

The Kampucheans are sure that they will get over their difficulties, and are working full out to do so.

SOCIALISM. PEKING STYLE*

Literaturnaya Gazeta, No. 40, 1978

Kampuchea under the Pol Pot Clique

"From the day of liberation, they destroyed all the achievements of the revolution and subjected our land to countless sufferings.

They herded all the people into concentration camps disguised as "communes", doomed them to hunger and shameful slavery. They turned the whole of Kampuchea into one huge and terrible prison. How many honest people they killed; how many revolutionary patriots, old party workers, and mem-

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979.

bers of the armed forces they barbarously annihilated. They stamped out all the wonderful customs and traditions of our people, separated children from their parents, wives from husbands, and destroyed our ancient culture. They became the pathetic lackeys of China's reactionary clique that had unleashed a war with Vietnam, accusing it of aggression in order to deceive our people and draw it into a bloody war."

*From a leaflet distributed underground
in Kampuchea*

"VILLAGES SURROUND THE TOWNS"

The Peking leaders are trying to impose on the world the Maoist thesis of "surrounding the town with villages". In Kampuchea they have begun to implement this. In an attempt to prove their loyalty to their "elder brother", the country's rulers have decided to simply "eliminate the towns". They are pursuing a policy of forcibly deporting the townspeople into rural regions and gathering them together into "communes" that in fact, are disguised concentration camps.

The handful of people living in Phnom Penh do not, of course, belong to the town's native population. They are party workers, experts, civil servants, and military men. The Pochentong Airport building is unharmed, and whenever important guests are expected, it is decked out with flags. The government members drive around in Mercedes limousines and other West European cars, official vehicles being the only ones allowed on the city streets. The desolate highways into the capital are lined with empty buildings (in particular, the university). The traffic lights are not working. The petrol pumps are closed. In the centre of the city stands the enormous Monorom Hotel, all boarded up. There is not a soul in sight on the broad avenue intersecting Phnom Penh from north to south. The sidestreets leading to it, like many other previously busy transport arteries, are blocked.

Young soldiers in black working clothes and armed with Chinese machine-guns, control the traffic. The Central Post Office is closed, swallows sweeping through the huge hall and nesting under the palm-trees.

There is no postal service.

Money has long been out of circulation. The National Bank lies in ruins. There is a single shop open in the city, and that can only be used by foreigners. Once a week, they could buy Scotch whiskey, American butter and French wines there, but only for American dollars.

The former library has become a warehouse. The only regular information service is the state radio, while the *Revolution* newspaper comes out only three times a month.

With the exception of the Chinese embassy, all foreign embassies are situated on one street. They have no telephone connection with one another or with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The freedom of movement of foreign diplomats and other foreigners in Kampuchea is strictly limited.

Journalists were shown the agricultural production "commune" in the south of the Takeo Province, where about 10,000 people lived. Most of them turned out to be former inhabitants of Pnom Penh. Men and women live separately, and breakfast, lunch and dinner are taken in groups of 600. Each member of the "commune" has the right to one set of clothes, consisting of a shirt and a pair of trousers, a year. Here there is no financial remuneration, the only payment for work being a food quota of mainly rice. The school teachers are unqualified, being simply appointed from among those considered by the government to be "reliable".

A Chinese freighter lies by the wharf in the port of Kam-fong Cham. The harbour is almost empty, apart from a few small motor boats. Not long ago a large amount of military hardware, including recoilless antitank rifles, self-propelled weapons, as well as long range artillery, were off-loaded here from just such a Chinese vessel.*

From the journal *Swiss Review of World Affairs*
(Switzerland)

* This and other texts in this section have been translated from the Russian.—Ed.

Ma Bunn Khok, a Phnom Penh student, lived through the city's evacuation. He tells of reprisals against unarmed people, of how the sick and wounded were cast out of the hospitals, of how the city's inhabitants were banished to the countryside. In the course of two years, his "work group" went to five regions to do a wide variety of jobs. Ma Bunn dug canals, cut down trees, and picked cotton. His account gives an impression of the daily life of the "new population". A few stolen potatoes meant the death sentence. Dissatisfaction with the poor food—the same. Late for work—the death sentence.

Men and women live separately in different camps. True, marriage was allowed. You only have to write an application to the camp commander and you will be "helped" to choose a wife, but even then you can see her only once every ten days for a couple of hours. The poor food and heavy work mean that nursing mothers lose their milk and the infantile death rate is horrific. All personal possessions are confiscated—watches, rings, images of Buddha, underwear. "The authorities", Ma Bunn says, "didn't bother to waste time on political discussions. They just ordered you to work, and that's all. I know that they took away all books, burned libraries and destroyed museums. They permitted me to keep three dictionaries, so that they'd have something to make cigarettes out of."

From the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*

"Our village used to be very peaceful. But after April 17, 1975 the new authorities forced us to set up a 'commune'. Boys with whips and rifles became the bosses there. We have to get up at six every morning, and work without a breather till noon. Then there is a short break for a cup of rice—then back to work. We finish late in the evening. 'Heh! Get a move on!' they order us. 'We need lots of rice for war reserves.' There is absolutely no machinery available. Everything is done by hand. In fives, or tens of the old and sick, we drag heavy ploughs like oxen.

"Those who can't work are killed. Anyone who dares to groan from hunger or, God forbid, pick up a crab, snail or herb to eat later on, is declared an 'oppositional element', 'dangerous to the system' and beaten to death. To beat and kill people is an everyday thing for them. In fact, it's easier to kill than to beat—less trouble.

"We had a family, relatives and neighbours, but now they've all gone. You aren't allowed to visit a sick father or cry if your husband dies."

From an account given by a Kampuchean refugee—the peasant woman Sai Tkhan from Swairieng Province

"They took away all our money and only allowed barter, and then only within the co-operative and with the permission of the authorities. Exchange on an individual basis was forbidden. All our property was written down. If you had two chickens and one disappeared, you'd be punished. Anyone found guilty three times would disappear from the village without trace and for ever. The Angka Loeu representatives would come at dusk, take the victim away and no one would ever hear anything more of him.

"My brother had a coconut palm growing in his garden. They carefully counted the number of coconuts. One evening my brother ate one to stay his hunger. But he was found out. Two days later they came for him, and he disappeared for ever."

From the testimony of a Kampuchean refugee

"We are warned that meetings between girls and boys are forbidden. Young people aren't even allowed to talk to one another. If a young man and a girl flirt with each other, they are executed, because love is considered a crime in Kampuchea."

From the account given by 30-year-old Mon Seu, who escaped from Kampuchea

Millions of men and women work from dawn to dusk in the rice paddies under the intensive surveillance of armed guards.

In Thailand, I asked one of the refugees what they had been fed.

"A little rice and a cup of coffee a day. During the day and in the evening they gave us soup made of leaves, slightly salted. Only the leaders ate meat and fish. Children received half portions."

"What about in the morning?" I asked again.

"Nothing at all. From six o'clock till noon we worked on an empty stomach. People died of starvation. Anyone who complained was executed. Only the authorities had enough to eat. Even the recruits conscripted into the army often went hungry, though they were entitled to more than we peasants were."

"And those that didn't work?"

"Everyone worked, men and women. Even old people, but they were given lighter jobs—weaving baskets and things like that. Six-year-old children were forced to collect excrement and mix it with fallen leaves to make fertiliser."

"What if you fell ill?"

"There were no chemists or medicines at all. People treated themselves with herbs and roots. If a peasant fell sick and didn't go to work, he would be warned that he was setting a bad example. If he didn't get up for a week, they took him away."

"What was the money situation?"

"There just wasn't any. They abolished money in Kampuchea."

"Then how did you buy what you needed?"

"What does 'buy' mean? There were no shops, and nothing to buy anyway—no clothes, no shoes—nothing. No one cooked at home anymore. Twice a day the 'organisation' handed round soup, and everybody ate together, in one place. There weren't any private houses anymore either. When the people banished from the towns arrived in the villages they had to build themselves huts and weren't allowed to take over deserted houses."

From the French newspaper *France Soir*

BOOKS ARE BURNED

The Maoists' aims are being implemented by the Pol Pot authorities in all spheres. Like during the Chinese "cultural revolution", the policy being pursued in Kampuchea today is one of the cruellest oppression of intellectuals, the education system is being eliminated and the ancient culture of the country destroyed.

It is hard even to imagine the enormous power wielded by the Kampuchean rulers with the help of total terror and absolute dictatorship.

Their "achievement" of totally erasing and destroying the old social system of the country, its economy, culture, and customs, of uprooting any intimation of free thought, of independent thinking and all in less than two years, is truly unprecedented. Books and archives were burned. Pagodas, statues of Buddha and museums were all destroyed and trampled under foot. With the cold-bloodedness of a surgeon, the authorities are trying to erase all traces and all memory of the nation's cultural and intellectual life. Even the famous ancient temples were razed to the ground to remove any recollection of the past.

"Soon after the new authorities took hold of the capital," one refugee, a former student from Pnom Penh, recounts, "students and teachers, and my friends began to disappear. I realised they had decided to exterminate all intellectuals, all educated people. At that time I was working in the countryside and pretended to be an illiterate peasant, for they had decided that all those 'infected' by culture were to be killed."

From the American magazine
National Review

LIKE THE MIDDLE AGES

Attaching the insulting label of "enemy" to dissidents and their physical destruction are methods of government tested long ago by the Maoists, and flourishing today in Kampuchea. Millions of people have fallen

victim to the persecution and brutal reprisals. The Voice of Vietnam radio station once said: "The leaders of the Pnom Penh administration, which calls itself revolutionary, claim to be pursuing some 'special course' in restructuring Kampuchean society. In fact this amounts to an extremist, narrow national internal and foreign policy reminiscent of mediaeval barbarousness."

According to many of those who managed to escape, officials began to speak increasingly openly about the need to exterminate a large number of Kampucheans.

The refugee Sen Smean recounted that the head of his district announced at a meeting in early 1977 that 10,000 of the district's 15,000 inhabitants would have to be executed as enemies and that 6,000 of them had already been killed. "The old grass must be dug up and burned to let the new shoots through," he said.

According to all eye-witnesses, it was the civil servants, soldiers and officers of the former government, as well as those who were called the intelligentsia in Kampuchea, that is people with even a minimal education, who were the first to be exterminated. Apparently the regime equally methodically set about killing women and children. The refugee San Daravong said that, at the end of last year, he had witnessed the murder of 108 women and children of former soldiers in the village of Khba Le, 10 miles from the town of Siem Reap, among the ancient temples of Angkor-Wat.

He said that the victims had been taken off to a dam in groups of ten, with their hands tied behind their backs, and then were beaten to death by the soldiers with truncheons. Some little children were thrown into the air and caught on bayonets, others were taken by the legs and their heads bashed against the ground.

The witness Ok Yum recounted that he had escaped from Siem Reap Province. According to him, in April 1977, to mark the second anniversary of their victory, the authorities slaughtered the entire population of his village, among some 350 families in the district as a whole.

From The New York Times

"Among the hundreds of thousands of other people I herded out of Pnom Penh. We went on foot, under the blazing sun, carrying our children, household utensils and clothes—everything we had managed to grab together in the rush. We were emaciated, hungry, ragged, walking under the malicious cries and laughter of soldiers in black-shirts. They gave us no time to rest. The further we went, the more dead bodies we saw at the sides of the road. The children were crying, and those of us who could still walk were half-fainting. In five days we came to the Morivong bridge. Here, by a tree, I saw a pregnant woman. She was lying on a piece of white cloth and was writhing in her labour pains, crying 'Help me! Save me!' By the bridge a soldier just stood laughing. My wife ran up to the woman and delivered the baby for her. The second the birth was over, the soldier came over, pushed my wife aside with his rifle-butt, and fired a round above the woman's head. 'Come on! Get going!' he shouted and the poor woman, clasping the baby to her breast, had to walk along with us, hardly able to stand on her feet.

"Then I heard children crying in a nearby building, an orphanage. The doors had been shut tight and locked on the outside. The people who worked there had apparently run away. Dozens of little hands were reaching through the iron bars on the windows, begging for help. 'Mama! Save me! Mama! Save me!' we could hear. I looked in through a window and saw a terrible sight. The tiniest babies were lying still in their cots. Many others were still alive, crying and writhing, but they were obviously dying. Some of the slightly older children were crawling about looking for food and water, while others were lying immobile with swollen stomachs—and no one bothered to help the poor little things. 'Of Kampuchea's eight million people,' Pol Pot declared shortly after the country's liberation, 'we only need one million.' Well, about three million they did manage to annihilate through hunger, sickness and execution."

From the recollections of a Kampuchean refugee

Pen Sing, 33 years old, was assistant commander of a battalion. He is thin and wounded in battle. This is what he recounted.

"The Kampuchean leaders are acting very cruelly. The political commissars told us the names of the 'enemies' that had been executed. Enemy meant all those who dared to criticise or had previously served in the armed forces. I know that once they executed two very young people simply because they were in love. They even grudged bullets, killing them with sticks and hoes."

We met 35-year-old Sik Non in a refugee camp near a fishing village by the Kampuchean border. He had previously worked for the National Sugar Company as chief accountant, but was sent, with his wife, to a labour camp. There he worked as a smith, while his wife hoed the ground. This short, sickly man had seen the corpses of his brutally murdered friends. Terrible tragedies had taken place before his very eyes. "The guards," he recounts, "separated out the office workers, professors, and doctors, and sent them to do the hardest jobs. Then they waited for them to commit the slightest misdemeanor or what was considered a criminal act. One man was killed because he picked up a banana, another because he tried to catch fish in the river." After two years of suffering and fear, Sik Non decided to escape. When the prisoners were sent to work at the foot of Mount Ral, he managed to let his wife know what he intended to do. With a group of 28 people he fled to the north. They walked and walked for 14 days. Once, he left the refugees sitting round a fire. Suddenly he heard a shot, then more shots and explosions. Two hours later when Sik Non returned to the fire, there were only dead bodies there, including that of his wife.

From the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*

Comparison with Hitler's Germany cannot be avoided. Just like in Nazi Germany, the authorities here make desperate efforts to conceal the more terrible aspects of their "plan" from the rest of the world. But since the Pnom Penh

rulers' plan is even more "total" than that of the nazis, it is kept even more secret: even the names of the Angka Loeu members are not revealed.

From the American newspaper *Wall Street Journal*

AGGRESSION AND PROVOCATION

The Pol Pot authorities are pursuing a Peking-style foreign policy. One of Peking's traditional methods is to unleash border conflicts with its neighbours. In an attempt to subordinate the countries of South-East Asia, and to implement Mao Zedong's slogan: "Only by the rifle can the whole world be transformed", the Chinese leadership initiated a campaign of provocation with respect to Vietnam and turned Kampuchea against it. According to *The Observer*, Chinese means of transportation deliver a regular supply of jets, tanks, artillery and other armaments to the port of Kamfong Som. The number of Chinese advisors in Kampuchea has risen to 6,000, while there are up to about 10,000 Chinese soldiers of the "railway forces".

"The reactionary forces of Peking ruling circles," Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong has declared, "found Pol Pot's counter-revolutionary clique a very convenient instrument for implementing their great-power, expansionist plans, directed primarily against Vietnam. This clique has unleashed an aggressive war against our country, destroying villages and settlements, plundering the Vietnamese people's property, killing them in the most cruel and unprecedented ways."

During the Kampuchean armed forces' incursions into the Vietnamese territory, they committed glaring crimes. On Vietnamese celebration days, they mercilessly shelled the territory, causing many deaths, mostly women and children. They raped women, burned homes and schools, looted foodstuffs and property, led off the cattle and damaged production. The Kampuchean armed forces carried out unbelievably barbaric murders. They used hand grenades and artillery, knives, sabres, and axes on their victims, they tortured Vietnamese citizens

to make them suffer most horribly before death. They even split their victims' stomachs open, cut out their livers, cut off their noses and threw their bodies into fires.

These Kampuchean actions since early May 1975 inflicted considerable human and tremendous material losses on the Vietnamese people and seriously undermined their peaceful work. Along the entire frontier, more than 10,000 hectares of Vietnamese land had to be left uncultivated.

Every time the Kampuchean side violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam, the Vietnamese side immediately informed the Kampuchean side of this and did everything possible to bring the incident to a close as rapidly as possible. Their proposals met with no response, however.

From documents of the press and information department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

The frontier zone on the Vietnamese side of the Kampuchean border is a picture of deserted villages, ruined homes, and forlorn rice paddies. The tactics of the Kampuchean army include night sorties through virtually impenetrable jungle, lightening attacks, murder, and then a rapid retreat before the arrival of the superior Vietnamese forces.

"It was dark. Suddenly I heard groans. I didn't know what was happening, but then saw people running. I ran too," tells one young woman from the small village of Ba Lai, two miles from the border. At three o'clock in the morning the Kampucheans had attacked the village. They killed all the inhabitants with truncheons, sticks and knives.

"Twenty-one bodies lay in the garden, some without heads or legs, with sharp pointed wooden stakes stuck into their chests or stomachs. A mile down the road there was a hut with six bodies, including three children. The women's stomachs had been ripped open. Nearby lay a dog without a head. On the wall, written in Khmer, were the words 'This is our land!'"

From the *Boston Globe*

DOZENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE EXTERMINATED BY THE POL POT-IENG SARY CLIQUE ON THE CHUP PLANTATION*

(SPK—TASS, February 7, 1979)

On February 5, 1979, the Kampuchean Information Agency (SPK) gave the following commentary on the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's crimes on the Chup plantation:

The Chup rubber plantation is situated in the Tkhobum Komong district of Kampong Tiam Province, where for the last few years there has been a strong resistance movement against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. The workers and peasants here had already suffered cruel and bloody reprisals. According to the plan worked out by the central authorities, in mid-1978 troops from other regions were brought here and they began the methodical destruction of one village after another, murdering all men, women, old people and children without distinction.

An SPK correspondent came to the Chup plantation after its liberation, met with those who had survived and saw with his own eyes the open graves, wells filled to the top with corpses, and terrible graveyards among the rubber trees. The search for evidence of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's crimes is not yet over, but in some places where terrible brutality was inflicted on the people, dozens of thousands of bodies have already been discovered.

We came to the forest near the village of Sreseam Khum-tire, about 1,100 metres from road No. 7. In an area of about three hectares of cattle pasture, not far from the enterprise, 30 round pits about 5 metres wide and more than ten metres deep were discovered. Under some thirty centimetres of soil lay human bodies, several dozen in each pit, mostly women and children.

Cham Saun, 21 years old, recounts, weeping, that five or the eight members of her family had perished. On the first night her elder brother Cham Khoan and younger brothers Cham Kran (10 years) and Cham Chran (2 years) were

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979

seized. Only her father, mother and three sisters were left. The village was overflowing with soldiers; there was simply nowhere to hide. The five surviving members of the family lay silently in their house, frightened to even breathe loudly or to cry. The next night the soldiers took the father and the mother, who was six-months pregnant. Knowing that their parents were going to die, the sisters began to cry, begging mercy for them. The black-shirt soldiers' reply was to beat them half to death. Cham Saun does not even know where the bodies of her family lie.

She also recounted how the soldiers burst into houses and killed all the men, including boys, in order, so they explained, to "destroy even the roots of those who opposed the Angka Loeu". Then they started on the women and old people. The population of Sreseam village was almost totally annihilated. After the liberation, only 200 people returned from hiding in the jungle.

In the same village, near two old bomb craters, lie piles of children's hats, clothes and sandals. The local people tell how the soldiers herded all the children together there, tied them up, pushed them into the water-filled craters and buried them alive.

Not far from Sreseam village in the Pieng Cheng woods, near a camp for wounded government soldiers, there were another 12 bomb craters containing about 3,000 dead bodies. On the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's orders, two bulldozers were sent there. A ditcher was used to dig a trench 3 metres wide, 6 metres long and 2 metres deep. People were herded to the edge of the trench, hit on the back of the head with a spade or hoe, and pushed in. When too many people had to be exterminated, they were collected into groups of several dozen, tied with steel wires, through which an electric shock was sent from a generator mounted on the bulldozer, then thrown, unconscious, into the pit and covered with earth. One of the two bulldozers is still there. When the graves were opened, it was discovered that many of the victims had split skulls, broken spines and legs, and tied hands.

In the camp for the wounded many bodies were buried under the banana trees. On the surface alone the remains of

several dozen people are visible. The local people say that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique sent in soldiers from different divisions to secretly kill the wounded, so that they would not require treatment. The most common method of disposing of the bodies here was to throw them into the wells from which drinking water was drawn and cover them up with stones. We were advised by the locals to visit the villages of Thonot Totoung, Sle Kodyong, Lokdap Pran, Cheroiko, Chupkrau, Trap Erang, Krauko and everywhere we found wells full of human bodies. In Thonot Totoung village we saw three wells, with black frothing water and three skulls sticking above the surface. Each well contained several dozen corpses.

Five kilometres to the east of the Chup plantation near road No. 7 is the town of Suong, the centre of the Tabaung Khomum district. The town consisted of nine villages, each of which previously had from a thousand to two thousand inhabitants. During one month of terror more than three thousand were killed. Khoi Sum, chairman of the Ton village, arranged for us to meet Nong Kha, three of whose family had perished. "There is probably not a single house in the village," he said, "where no one fell victim. In the families of Kat Suon, Chan Mon, Chin Kan, Khat Neap, and Tang Sokhim, from five to twelve people were killed. For example, in one evening twelve of Tang Sokhim's family were murdered."

In June 1978, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique sent a company of blackshirts to the village. When night fell they began to force their way into the houses and kill the people. In one grave we saw bodies, stripped naked with their hands tied with nylon rope, and a hoe was sticking out of a pile of bodies.

It will take a long time yet to count all those who perished. There are both locals and people brought here from far away. They were killed simply because they lived in this region, where the resistance movement was gaining momentum. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique ordered the extermination of all people living in military zone No. 203, because, "in the authorities' opinion, "if a military zone turns against the regime, it will be followed by the districts, the districts by

communities and villages, and then by the entire population."

The Chup plantation is only a drop in the ocean of blood spilt by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea.

Martha Rojas

KAMPUCHEA:

"TEARS ENOUGH TO FILL AN OCEAN"*

Granma, January 30, 1979

Slavery? Not only. Slavery and extermination, slavery and expansionism. The evil experiment in Kampuchea is not even similar to the slavery we know from history as the socioeconomic system that existed in colonial Cuba. In Kampuchea, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, who are of Chinese origin and educated in France, and their staff, followed the instructions of the Chinese leadership and established a new type of colonial yoke: it might be called "primitive" nazism, for this is an unnatural form not fitting into any of the traditional social models. In Cuba, for example, the slaves could find spiritual release in religion, could seek some hope in one sect, church or another, while in Kampuchea all religions were forbidden and all monks and priests were killed. In colonial Cuba, the slaves could buy themselves and their children freedom, although they had to work all their lives to do this and suffer the most incredible humiliation; in Kampuchea even money was abolished, and nothing, neither cards nor cheques, were issued to replace it. Even barter was forbidden. In Cuba, the children of slaves did not have to serve in the Spanish army, fight against their own brothers, or attack neighbouring countries; in Kampuchea, they were forced to do this from the age of ten. The system of slavery we know from books, in spite of all its horrors, retained a certain tolerance.

At a time when the miracles of science and technology, guided by human hand, have made it possible to conquer space and the Arctic wastes, to irrigate the desert, and to communicate between continents in fractions of a second,

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979.

some false or mad ideology doomed the country to three years and eight months of dark misery, throwing the country back to the stage of the primitive communal society. The unique goal was apparently to destroy the population of this country in order to provide *Lebensraum* for others. Expansionism both by the authorities and people was evidently the collapsed Chinese plan in Kampuchea, which they saw as a springboard for further jumps into neighbouring countries of the region. On January 7, 1979, the day of the revolution's victory, the huge enslaved commune of Kampuchea began to gradually restore its culture and normal life.

At the Olympic Stadium in Pnom Penh, where a mass meeting was held on January 25, the revolutionary government formed of members of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation was presented to the whole world. At this meeting, journalists in their hundreds from America, Europe, Asia and Africa saw the Kampucheans dancing, singing and weeping with joy. The smiles once more appeared on their faces. The smiles that had disappeared on the morning of April 17, 1975, at 9.25 a.m., when the regime of terror engendered by the so-called Chinese "cultural revolution" was established in the country. The power had then been seized with the support of armed divisions that had routed the imperialist Yankees withdrawing from the country. These divisions were, with the tragic irony of history, called Khmer Rouges or Communists.

The tyrants ordered the clocks at the stadium and those in other major buildings in the capital to be stopped at precisely that moment. We saw those clocks on January 25, when the Kampuchean people celebrated its great victory.

After the meeting organised by the United Front, the only genuine representative of the people of Kampuchea, its leaders, almost all the young people, amazed, confused by emotion and wearing clothes much too big for their emaciated bodies, together with us journalists who were in Pnom Penh for the first time on January 20, travelled round the empty and still silent city that had already started to come back to life: the water and electricity supplies had been turned on.

Personal observations and interviews with the former in-

habitants of camps and with refugees returning to Pnom Penh brought to light unheard-of horrors:

a) in Kampuchea only the very strongest children up to the age of ten had managed to survive. In the concentration camps and forced labour "communes", people could only stay alive by chance, or natural selection took place, with only those who could adapt to the conditions managing to survive; almost all the children evacuated from the towns had died within the first year. Only those that had escaped to Vietnam are now alive;

b) women who were pregnant when they were sent to the "communes" lost their babies or died before giving birth, unable to endure the inhuman treatment, or as a result of "natural causes", the Pol Pot euphemism for back-breaking toil;

c) a handful of intellectuals managed to survive only because, while in the "communes", they concealed who they really were, which was not easy. Also those who succeeded in escaping to Vietnam are still alive;

d) all boys above ten years of age were forced into the army; the physically weaker died from the excessive burden;

e) in rural areas virtually all the wells supplying drinking water and all the houses were filled with debris and rubbish, stones, earth and dead animals to prevent people from preparing food for themselves.

According to the model of the commune for a subsequent Chinese expansion there should be a single common well and one common kitchen for preparing everyday food: a bowl of rice or rice soup without salt per person;

f) in the forced labour camps the most common diseases were cholera, yellow fever, beri-beri, tuberculosis, and there were cases of madness;

g) in the forty-four months not one of the enslaved labourers received a piece of soap or saw any sugar, and none of the children went to school;

h) men, women and children alike were provided with one set of clothing a year, made of black cotton that soon fell into tatters, the only possible replacement being clothes taken from those who died;

i) it has already been mentioned that this 20th century

slave commune had no medicines and that Pnom Penh and other towns, district and regional centres, as well as residential buildings close to roads were emptied of their inhabitants;

j) the nazis built a huge number of extermination camps, where people were subjected to refined torture and killed. At the Nuremburg trials, this brutality and sadism was condemned and the war criminals executed. But even they, though this in no way justifies their crimes, did not exterminate the people of their own nation. The developments in Kampuchea are unprecedented.

During the meeting at the stadium I spoke to a Kampuchean peasant woman. Looking at the waving flags of the new republic in the people's hands, she was weeping bitterly. I asked what was the matter with her. This was not so much a question as an attempt to comfort her, and the woman's brief and bitter reply was: "Our tears are so plentiful they could fill an ocean."

G. Damba

KAMPUCHEA: VICTORY AND BITTER LESSONS*

Unen, January 10, 1979

A journalist's notes

Under the pressure of a strong popular movement, the puppet regime in Kampuchea, a centre of alarm and danger in Indochina, has collapsed.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique had seized power by taking shameful advantage of the fruits of the Kampuchean people's many years of heroic struggle against US imperialism, for the sake of national salvation and in defence of their country and freedom. This clique committed a multitude of crimes arousing anger and disgust both in the country itself and abroad. Pol Pot and his associates turned their country into a huge prison, unleashed an armed aggression against neighbouring Vietnam.

In the summer of 1978, when I arrived as a journalist in socialist Vietnam, I visited the Anzyang Province in the south-

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west of the country. There I saw the village of Batyuk, which had been plundered and destroyed by the Kampuchean murderers. One could not but shudder at the traces of this truly nazi massacre.

All the women and children had been burned alive in the village temple. Those that survived were killed on the spot. In one night the murderers exterminated 2,000 villagers, destroyed the school, the hospital and all the houses. The acrid smoke of the huge fires, the burnt fields, the ruined buildings and the fragments of household items were all that remained of this Vietnamese village, which not so long ago was alive and flourishing. This is only one example, however, of the multiple incursions made by the Kampuchean army into the Vietnamese border regions. The Kampuchean leaders promised their assistants: "For each dead Vietnamese you'll get a kilo of rice. For one live prisoner—three kilos." So the half-starved soldiers of the Pol Pot regime tried to kill as many as possible, and cut off their victims' noses and ears in order to claim their "reward". A starving people, murder, looting and foodstuffs as a reward for murder—such is the portrait of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime.

There is hardly any need to speak in detail about how human rights and freedoms were trampled under foot in Kampuchea. Here are just a few indicative facts.

"From early morning to late at night we were forced to dig canals. For this they gave us a little bit to eat—just enough to keep us alive. Anyone who unbent his back for even a second was whipped. Any resistance meant instant death. The Pol Pot men told us that communism was being built in Kampuchea. Communism meant a society without a state, without the family, without a market or money, without religion. The military were, they said, special people. They could travel by car. They could drink spirits. They could kill people. The ordinary people had no rights at all, only that to work and work and work, and not everyone even had anything to eat. There were thirteen of us in our family. I just don't know whether any of them are still alive. I wasn't allowed to see my wife. The children worked in labour 'communes' and lived in barracks. At fifteen they were recruited into the army.

Marriage was only allowed when sanctioned by the 'commune' authorities." This blood-curdling account I heard from 60-year-old peasant Ung On in a refugee camp for those who had managed to survive by getting to Vietnam.

Kuai Tai from the village of Kha Ao in Takeo Province told me the following. "I am a teacher, but there aren't any schools in Kampuchea now. For two years I dug trenches in stinking swamps. I was beaten many times and tortured until I would lose consciousness (he showed me terrible welts and scars on his body). I lost my health there. I got here almost naked and literally on my last legs. The Vietnamese doctors treated me, and the local authorities gave me work and housing. If it weren't for them I would have died."

Looking at all these people who had to flee their country in order to stay alive, I wondered whether the authorities that had turned Kampuchea into a real fiery hell could keep hold of the power for long. The Mongolians have a saying that a dying dog barks even at its master, and I often thought later that the days of those who were playing with the lives of their people were numbered. Now, today, the reactionary Kampuchean regime has collapsed. The long-suffering people of this country, under the leadership of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, have risen and won a historic victory welcomed by all progressive and peace-loving humanity. Our people joyfully heard the announcement that the People's Revolutionary Council had been set up in Kampuchea to take charge of the life of the country.

Again and again I recall what I saw and heard last summer on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border and think about the fact that there are, of course, forces abroad and people outside Kampuchea whose hands are stained with the blood and tears of this peaceful country's people. The origins of the terrible events in Kampuchea, like the tragedy of the Indonesian patriots, are to be found in one and the same place. My wonderings were answered in that same refugee camp. An old man called Su Jin recounted with abhorrence: "There were many Chinese instructors in our country. First they said they were going to teach us to dig trenches, grow rice and build 'communism'. In fact they taught only one thing—to kill people."

I saw the weapons taken from captured Kampuchean attackers. Those weapons, weapons of murder and plunder, were clearly marked Chinese made.

Today everything is again as it should be. The Chinese leaders who unceremoniously played with the fate of Kampuchea, have suffered the same shameful defeat as the puppet government. But they are seeking new victims.

It is unlikely, however, that any country will now adopt the fatal course of building "communism" Peking-style. Even so, the nations must remain alert, and that is the main lesson among all the bitter lessons of Kampuchea.

EVIL DEEDS OF THE CRIMINAL CLIQUE*

Pravda, January 11, 1979

Evidence from the American press

Material from the American press testifies to the monstrous and evil deeds perpetrated by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime imposed on Kampuchea from outside. The newspapers, illustrated journals, magazines and weeklies have published a multitude of articles, photographs and documentary evidence of the bloody crimes of the clique against the Kampuchean people, with respect to whom the Peking puppets pursued a policy of overt genocide for over three years.

E. Backer of *The Washington Post* and R. Dadman of the *Saint Louis Post Dispatch* travelled to Kampuchea and talked to the Kampuchean refugees in Thailand. They write of the sinister period of tyranny established in the country by the regime following the Chinese model of political structure. The authors testify that, in Kampuchea, representatives of the most diverse strata of the population were systematically executed.

During his time in the country, Backer was constantly searching for people deported from Pnom Penh straight after the war, when hundreds of thousands of people were banished from the capital, and herded like cattle into remote agricultural

* English translation © Progress Publishers 1979

areas, many of them dying on the way. He was only allowed to speak to two previous inhabitants of Pnom Penh, however.

The Pol Pot regime, notes *The New York Times*, considered that anyone who had any connection with urban life, intellectual, business or technical activities needed to be cleansed by being sent to do heavy work in the countryside, or to be eliminated completely.

The New York Times published an account by one refugee who managed to find his way secretly out of Kampuchea. He himself witnessed how government soldiers murdered 108 women and children. He says this took place not far from the village of Chbale. A few soldiers led off the seized women and children beyond the settlement and then, after dividing them into groups of ten, began to methodically beat them on the head with heavy sticks. Some small children were thrown into the air and caught on bayonets, others grasped by the legs and bashed against the ground.

A considerable amount of material and eye-witness accounts collected by the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN Commission on Human Rights and published in the American press also testifies to the true genocide practices by the Kampuchean government, which turned the country into a virtual prison.

During the discussion in Geneva in September 1978, the members of the Subcommittee, including experts from 17 countries, were acquainted with documents presented by Canada, Norway, Britain and the USA. These were compiled from eye-witness testimonies, mostly from Kampuchean refugees, and give some idea of what the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was really up to.

According to the eye-witnesses, the people of Kampuchea were executed at the slightest excuse. The Subcommittee's documents show that they were killed with wooden sticks, hoes and axes, which were used to dismember the victims' bodies.

Sem Damavong recounted how, in his village, people were deprived of food for the slightest misdemeanour. Anyone who committed such "errors" three times was executed, beaten to death with sticks. On more than a dozen occasions he saw corpses thrown into the market place to frighten the villagers,

and there were usually five or six bodies lying around there, which they were later ordered to take into the fields and use as fertiliser.

Yim Sot Ronnachit, 16 years of age, told how, after the Pol Pot regime came to power, he and the other inhabitants of Siem Reap were sent to do forced labour. Once his family was brought to a place where there were already 12 people, including only one man, one old man, and the rest women and children. "I saw many bodies," Ronnachit testifies, "including that of my own father. The soldiers pointed their guns at us and said 'You are going to be killed.' They told us to sit on the ground, and then started to beat us with sticks and hoes. They killed five or six before they got to me. They hit me on the neck and on the back. I lost consciousness and they apparently thought I was dead."

Even the White House had to admit that genocide was being practised in Kampuchea. In a statement on April 21, 1978, President Carter spoke of executions without trial or inquest. The President called the Pol Pot regime the most malicious violater of human rights in the world.

That the US Government "persistently and in detail announced cases of mass violations of human rights in Kampuchea" is also written in a letter from J. Leonard, temporary US representative to the UN, to the Chairman of the Security Council.

All the more reason for perplexity over the fact that, now that the Kampuchean people have risen against the odious regime and overthrown the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, some people in Washington, those who are playing up to Peking, are inclined to defend these Chinese puppets.

**MAOIST
"ELIMINATION OF CONTRADICTIONS"
BY MASS EXTERMINATION**

Time, November 21, 1977

"At present, the general situation of the revolution in Kampuchea is excellent, considering the fact that ours is a backward country just freed from devastating war launched by the US imperialists."

So said Cambodia's Premier Pol Pot at a banquet in Peking some weeks ago. After the leader of Kampuchea visited China, some changes in South-East Asia's most militantly xenophobic regime appeared. Obviously at Peking's urging, the government once again acknowledged, though not diplomatically, neighbouring Thailand, with whom it had previously had little contact. Last month the country's Foreign Minister, Ieng Sary, came to New York City, where he played host at a United Nations cocktail party for 200 diplomats. He even provided the entertainment: a film extolling the glories of brave new Kampuchea.

For a close-as-possible look at the new Cambodia, which is all but closed to foreigners, *Time* Correspondent David De-Voss visited three camps in Thailand, at the border provinces of Surin, Chanthaburi and Trat, which have been set up for some of the thousands of refugees who have run the gauntlet of mines, snipers and *punji* stick booby traps along the frontier to reach freedom. His report:

...Backward is one way to describe the country. Brutal, according to those who have escaped, is more apt. Significantly, the escapees include more and more former Khmer Rouge fighters who once served as the enforcers for *Angka Loeu*, the "Organization of High", which runs the country as a fiefdom. . . .

...The new controllers, who wear red scarves as signs of power, have proved to be even more vicious than the old ones. Says Tap Eréth, a former soldier who returned to his village to farm after the fall of the non-Communist government in 1975: "From 6 in the morning until the moon began to rise, the controllers yelled at us to grow more rice. We did grow more, but it was always taken away."

Cambodian cities, including Pnom Penh, have become little more than transportation railheads for rural co-operatives as the government, citing a threat from "spies" of all sorts, forced people into the countryside. The co-operatives are spartan. Some of the refugees in Thailand are from a typical co-operative in a village called Kok Tlok. As they describe it, the village, really a large plantation, houses 10,000 residents in thatched huts, with up to three families

in each hut. The co-operative is run by only five controllers. . . .

. . . The refugees say death is everywhere. Seemingly simple misdeeds such as fraternization outside one's immediate family, being awake after 9 p.m., falling asleep at the nightly political lecture are punished with death. Every month about 250 villagers die from starvation, but to eat a chicken or suggest killing a cow is treason. Says Soeung Meayeat, 28, who escaped six months ago: "There is nothing to do when parents die and children are taken away except wait for death so you can see them again."

Children are separated into communal work camps at the age of twelve and strictly segregated by sex. Single youths are required to chop trees, dig irrigation ditches and clear stumps. Since they work harder than others in a co-operative they receive more food. But even they do not always get enough. At Pronet Phrac, a work camp west of Battambang, only ten youths are assigned to catch fish for 8,000 residents. Result: four or five people die of exhaustion every day.

In the youth camps, young men and women can be executed merely for talking to one another or sitting together. The only opportunity to find a mate is in the field. When a likely spouse appears, an elderly emissary inquires about his or her availability. . . .

. . . Premier Pol Pot has declared that another 2% of the population are still "enemies of democratic Cambodia". Presumably they are in danger of what the government euphemistically describes as "the elimination of contradictions".

Cambodia has become a net exporter of rice. There is food available, but so much is reserved for export that the standard meal has become fish gruel and banana leaves. Even that is served in communal dining halls, which helps accomplish two government aims: to break up family life and limit opportunities to hoard food, which is needed for escape. Family names are being wiped out; in the new order Cambodians are now referred to by their controllers and the government simply by surname, with the term *met* (comrade) in front.

Comrades are expected to do what they are told. The alternative, aside from death, is escape to Thailand, but that is becoming more difficult.

**John Barron
and
Anthony Paul**

UNTOLD SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE*

Readers' Digest, March, 1977

"Peace came to Cambodia on the morning of April 17, 1975. After five years of civil war, the government under Gen. Lon Nol had collapsed, the army disintegrated, the last American diplomats fled. The besieged capital of Pnom Penh and its three million people lay prostrate and defenceless before encircling communist forces.**

The first communist squads of 10 to 12, dressed in black pajama-like uniforms, were spotted infiltrating the capital at about 7 am. Clusters of people along the streets clapped and cheered, and children darted among the soldiers yelling, "The war is over!" Adults shouted, "Peace! Peace!" Women threw garlands of yellow alamanda blossoms; couples danced and sang in the streets.

* * *

In their rejoicing, the people were not necessarily celebrating the victory of communism. The harsh regimen the insurgents had imposed in conquered territories in the countryside alienated the peasantry, and more and more families had fled to the cities. At the beginning of the war in 1970, only about 13 per cent of the nation's seven million citizens lived in urban areas. By spring 1975, it was 50 per cent.

But the Lon Nol government did not command widespread allegiance either. It was notoriously incompetent and corrupt. The fratricidal war had caused perhaps 600,000 deaths,

* Heading supplied by the editor.

** The authors use the word "communist" for Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge.—Ed.

and a majority of the dead were civilians. Prior to 1970, Cambodian farmers annually produced bountiful surpluses of rice. Timber, cattle, poultry were also plentiful. But the war had disrupted the economy, ravaged the countryside.

Of course, the communists might punish, perhaps even kill, the leaders of the Lon Nol government. But toward the general populace they would surely be reasonable and just. They were, after all, fellow Khmers and fellow adherents of Buddhism, which teaches tolerance, respect and kindness toward others.

"That morning we were shouting, 'Victory! Victory!'" recalls 23-year-old economics student, Ung Sok Choeu. "It wasn't that we loved the Khmer Rouge so much, but seeing Lon Nol go was worth an outburst of joy. What use was it that Khmers should kill each other?"

Nonetheless, there were troublesome early portents. For, although the Khmer Rouge authorities stopped looting by civilians and government soldiers, warning that transgressors would be summarily shot or hanged, they did nothing to deter wholesale looting by their own troops. Soon, communist soldiers rampaged through commercial districts, shooting open the bolted doors of shops or ripping them off with ropes attached to Jeeps. By 8:30, communist troops were halting traffic to confiscate cars, motorcycles and bicycles. During these thefts, the soldiers habitually invoked the strange term *Angka Loeu*. The phrase can be translated into English as "Organization of High". With a politeness which belied the pointed rifles or pistols, they would say, "*Angka Loeu* proposes that you lend me your motorcycle. *Angka Loeu* proposes that you drive me". Most people in Pnom Penh had heard little of *Angka Loeu*. . . .

.. Soon the killing began. An 18-year-old high-school student, Sar Sam, saw it start. "At 8:45 that morning, a Khmer Rouge killed Mr. Kim, our neighbour. Mr. Kim was about 42. He joined the army in 1971 as a private second class, and he had only one leg."

About the same time, 10 to 20 civil servants and soldiers walked out of a government building. Waiting communist troops, without warning or explanation, cut them down with

machine-gun fire. Later, in front of the Ministry of Information, communist soldiers surrounded a man who, by some word or gesture, had given offence, and kicked and stabbed him. The crowd watched as he slowly died. . . .

...At about 9 am, in his private clinic across the street from the military hospital, Dr. Vann Hay was attending a colonel wounded in the last hours of the bombardment. "I was still in the operating room when I was told that Khmer Rouge soldiers were at the door of the clinic, asking that everybody leave immediately. I went to talk to them. There were may be 20, all very young, and they repeated their order. 'These people here are sick,' I told them. 'They cannot get up and leave.' 'No exceptions,' said the Khmer Rouge. 'The town has to be cleared. Everybody get out.'"

Shooting in the air, broadcasting through loudspeakers, banging on doors, sometimes shouting harshly, sometimes speaking with saccharine courtesy, troops in the name of Angka Loeu now repeated the same stunning order all over Pnom Penh, a city of three million. Every man, woman and child, regardless of occupation, age or physical condition, must get out of the city.

To those who asked why, communist soldiers offered differing explanations: "The Americans are going to bomb." "It's an order from Angka." But the reply which events proved most valid was given to a group of foreign Catholic priests by an Angka commissar: "From now on, if people want to eat, they should go out and work in the rice paddies. Cities are evil. There are money and trade in cities, and both have a corrupting influence. That is why we shall do away with cities."

THE HENCHMEN IMPOSE A "NEW ORDER"

With a terrible efficiency, the communists concentrated initially upon expelling the sick and wounded from hospitals jammed with fresh casualties. Troops stormed into the Preah Ket Melea Hospital, Pnom Penh's largest and oldest, and shouted to patients, physicians and nurses alike. . . .

...Hundreds of men, women and children in pajamas limped, hobbled, struggled out into the streets, where the midday sun had raised the temperature to well over 100 degrees. Relatives or friends pushed the beds of patients too enfeebled to walk, some holding aloft infusion bottles dripping plasma into the bodies of loved ones. One man carried his son, whose legs had just been amputated. The bandages on both strumps were red with blood, and the son, who appeared to be about 22, was screaming, "You can't take me like this! Kill me! Please kill me!..."

...One trained observer who watched them from the French embassy compound was John Swain, a young British journalist. Recording the scenes in his diary, he wrote...

..."In five years of war, this is the greatest caravan of human misery I have seen. The Khmer Rouge must know that few of the city's 20,000 wounded will survive. One can only conclude that they have no humanitarian instincts"...

...That same afternoon the communists began to purge the capital of all printed matter. Rare and ancient manuscripts from temples and museums; the records of government and business; the contents of libraries; dictionaries, medical textbooks; even personal identity-cards—all were targets.

Tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of books were thrown into the Mekong River or burned on its banks. Untold others were burned at a dump, and the libraries of Pnom Penh and Buddhist universities went up in flames.

"IT WAS A NIGHTMARE"

The soldiers came after Ang Sok and her family in mid-afternoon. Ang, a pretty girl of 22, had, like most young people, cheered the communist troops entering the city. But when they began shooting and looting, she retreated into the house of her cousin...

...Ang asked the group of soldiers who ordered them out of the city where they should go. "As far away as possible."

How long would they have to stay away? "For a period of time". . . .

... "On the road, there was a huge crowd of every age and condition, young, old and sick." . . .

... The streams of benumbed and bewildered unfortunates trudging out of the city swelled steadily through the afternoon and that evening several hundred thousands people slept by the streets or roads. The next day, in the name of Angka, parties of four to six soldiers systematically went from door to door repeating the initial order, and by midmorning the streets teemed with more hundreds of thousands of people.

A new realization soon spread: each soldier-servant of Angka Loeu held death at his or her fingertips. Given the alternative of leaving or being shot, Dost Mohammed, an electronics salesman, departed on the 18th with his wife, six children and mother. Some traffic was still moving, and a pedicab rolled past them. "Don't go on that side of the road!" a soldier shouted. The pedicab did not alter course, so the soldier killed the driver with machine-gun fire. . . .

... Near the French embassy, a French schoolteacher observed a communist patrol march through a line of refugees and, by happenstance, part a mother and father from their children. The frantic parents protested and sought to reclaim their children, now on the other side of the communist column. The patrol leaders fired a volley of rifle shots, killing both parents.

Not everybody personally witnessed such summary executions, but virtually everybody saw the consequences of them in the form of corpses rapidly bloating and rotting in the sun. . . .

... Then the water supply ceased throughout the city. People were reduced to drinking from ponds in parks and gardens, even from stagnant puddles. This brought on dysentery, a killer that was to treat the people as mercilessly as Angka itself throughout the great exodus. . . .

... Ea Than, a 27-year-old librarian left his home on the 18th in a family party of about a dozen people. "All of Pnom Penh seemed to be leaving toward the south. We were packed

like sardines, and progress was unbelievably slow. It took us three days and three nights to cover the two miles between our house and Monivong Bridge. All along the way the Khmer Rouge were shooting into the air and at houses. 'Go on! Move on!' they shouted". . . .

* * *

...Pnom Penh had been transformed into a wasteland occupied only by corpses, stray dogs, pigs, ducks and chickens, and Angka patrols standing guard to ensure that human life did not return. By April 23, the communists had begun to empty the other principal cities of Cambodia. Because the populations were much smaller, troops were apparently able to evacuate most of the provincial cities in less than 24 hours. . . .

...THE ORGANIZATION OF HIGH

Having emptied and vandalized the cities, Angka Loeu proclaimed the birth of a new Democratic Cambodia. . . .

...Having "cleansed" the cities, Angka Loeu commenced to "purify" the population by eliminating "corrupt" elements. At Battambang, Cambodia's second-largest city, the communists directed the government troops back to their barracks, allowed them to pack their belongings and marched them to the high-school building in the center of town. By next day, more than 1,000 officers, 2,000 noncoms and 1,000 soldiers were milling about. Politely, the communists told them to separate by rank. Then they distributed rice to the ordinary soldiers and authorized them to buy whatever else they wanted at a nearby market. Among the defeated soldiers a feeling of relief grew: they were being treated fairly; no longer would Cambodians have to kill Cambodians.

The following morning a dramatic announcement was made. Prince Sihanouk was returning to Pnom Penh! To

welcome the Prince, officers would travel to the capital for the celebration.

Kom Kiry, a 52-year-old infantry major, was one of those who left in the convoy. In the lead were a Jeep and Land Rover holding about 20 armed communists; then came a bus carrying some 30 government army officers and 10 guards; five open trucks with more officers, and, bringing up the rear, a truck holding about 60 communists.

In Kom's truck there was a festive air. A communist official had passed the word that, after the welcoming ceremonies, all the officers would be given a certificate absolving them of blame for having served in Lon Nol's army. All would then go free.

For about three hours the convoy drove along Highway 5 toward Pnom Penh, and then abruptly turned off on to a secondary road leading toward the Battambang—Pnom Penh rail-road tracks. The officers, who had been joking and laughing, suddenly were hushed. They could see, waiting on the right side of the road 200 yards from the main highway, a long line of about 60 armed communist soldiers.

The vehicles halted and the officers were ordered to disembark. Kom studied the terrain. On the right-hand side of the road were soldiers; on the other was a field and, in the distance, forest.

Perhaps ten minutes after the vehicles had driven off, a burst of machine-gun fire—about 20 rounds—came from the highway. A signal, thought Kom. A minute later, the soldiers along the road began shooting into the officers. Kom slipped away in a low crouch, then broke into a desperate run.

For three hours the Khmer Rouge fired into the piles of dead and dying officers. Hiding in the forest Kom could hear the sounds of gunfire. Of the 315 officers in that convoy, only four—Kom and three others—appear to have escaped.

This was only one of many organized massacres perpetrated throughout Cambodia during the first days after surrender. For, despite their pledges of reconciliation, the communists immediately set out to exterminate the entire government officer corps and management echelon of the civil service.

...A TERRIBLE STILLNESS...

...The communists also killed some students, teachers and other "intellectuals" for no apparent reason other than the fact that they were educated. Approximately 2,000 school-teachers were incarcerated at Wat Ek monastery north-west of Battambang, another 1,000 or so at a camp north-east of the city. A driver for the communists who later escaped to Thailand claimed that in May he saw soldiers kill 17 teachers from the Wat Ek camp with axes.

...One evening in May, a squad of communist soldiers appeared at Khal Kabei in the Thmar Puok district. "Stay close to home tonight," they said. And a tractor drove past, towing a trailer carrying a group of women aged 18 to 25.

As dawn came, the villagers discovered why the Khmer Rouge had wanted the night to themselves. About 500 yards along a cart track east to Khal Kabei, where all could see, were the remains of the young women. "They had been buried up to the necks," said a villager. "You could see only their heads." Each had been stabbed in the throat.

For more than a week, as the heads became swollen with putrefaction and the smell of death permeated the village the Khmer Rouge refused to let Khal Kabei arrange a proper burial. . . .

EXODUS

On the five national highways leading out of Pnom Penh, the midday temperature those last days of April rose above 100 degrees. The dry season now ending had parched the flatlands and evaporated the rice paddies, leaving stagnant, fetid pools and ponds increasingly fouled by excrement and bodies.

No stores of potable water, no stocks of food, no shelter had been prepared for the millions of outcasts. They slept wherever they could, frequently in the open fields and ditches.

The very young and the very old were first to die. . . .

...Dr. Vann Hay, thrown out of his Pnom Penh clinic on

April 17, had started northward on Highway 5, and spent a month on various roads and trails. Of all the agonies he saw, the most difficult for him to bear was the ordeal of the children.

"We must have passed the body of a child every 200 yards. Most of them died of gastrointestinal afflictions which cause complete dehydration. I had some medication with me, but most children brought to me required massive dosages, and lengthy rest afterward. Neither was available."

Generally, on the main highways, the march was guarded by troops stationed at checkpoints every few miles, and by soldiers posted along the way.

...The discipline imposed by Angka Loeu was Draconian. During the first days of his trek Dr. Vann Hay saw soldiers cut down five or six people who failed to keep pace. "They would give a first warning, then a second warning, then they would shoot. Most of the ones I saw being killed were elderly"....

...Chaos increased as the communists also began emptying villages, jerking peasants from their homes of a lifetime and throwing them into the milling masses of urban exiles....

...By early June, the first great exodus was over. Some 3.5 million people from the cities and probably another 500,000 from villages had been unrooted and scattered throughout the land. The highways out of Pnom Penh were barren and quiet. The corpses were deteriorating into skeletons, the hospital beds and cars rusting....

...THE NEW VILLAGES

Ngy Duch was a tall, lean, muscular youth of 22 with a narrow face, dark eyes and straight black hair. Buddhism had taught him never to inflict pain on another human being, and to abhor the war. When news of peace reached him in the town of Pailin, he had celebrated, playing his bamboo flute late into the night. But soon he and his ailing mother and several other relatives were driven from their homes.

For 23 days Ngy shepherded his relatives eastward through

the forests, finally reaching the village of Ampil Pram Daum. There, an Angka Loeu boss, a Comrade Mon, declared that the family would stay.

Ampil Pram Daum, about 45 miles northwest of Battambang, once was a large village in the midst of fertile rice fields. The original residents had vanished, the 2,000 refugees had to build their own huts and create a "New Village". . . .

. . . Each arriving family was allotted a space, about five square yards, on which to build a hut. Normally, neither materials nor tools were provided.

. . . In the evenings all New Villagers were compelled to attend ideological lectures and, frequently, to witness a Kosang, the Khmer word for "construction". A Kosang was a ritualistic warning to someone who had displeased Angka Loeu. No one ever received more than two Kosangs.

About mid-June, while working in the field, Ngy stepped on a sharp piece of bamboo which penetrated almost all the way through his foot. His whole leg swelled, he developed a high fever, and pains shot up to his waist, so he hobbled to Comrade Mon and requested a few days' respite from work. "Such a tiny wound is not enough reason for staying home," Comrade Mon said.

That night Ngy received his first Kosang, as village committee members took turns berating him: "You must learn to live with pain. You must not be soft. You must not be lazy, trying to get out of work."

Humbly, Ngy admitted he had been lazy malingerer. He pledged to work honorably for Angka Loeu.

STARVATION DIET

The Wheel of History, Angka Loeu's missionaries habitually warned, would grind down anyone who disobeyed or flagged. . . .

. . . There were strictures against all things foreign, against music and dance, against sex, against traditional family relationships. And children were singled out for the most intensive brainwashing. In the village of Khna Sar, university student

Ung Sok Choeu observed: "The only subject being taught were revolutionary thinking and the aims of the Khmer Rouge struggle, and how to detect the enemies of both. As a result, all the children turned into little spies, reporting everything that was said at home."

In Ampil Pram Daum, the children's reports led to numerous Kosangs. Some children derived a heady sense of power from the knowledge that they could place the life of any elder in jeopardy.

...During the first six to eight weeks after evacuation of the cities, Angka Loeu generally succeeded in distributing a ration of about nine ounces of rice daily to each person. But by midsummer many villagers were receiving only half a milk can of rice, insufficient to sustain life. Epidemics of malaria, cholera and typhoid spread. Approximately 1,000 people inhabited the New Village of Ta Orang; about 200 died in June. Sambok Ork contained 540 people when organized in late April; in July and August, two to five died daily, according to philosophy professor Phal Oudam, who was drafted to file biweekly reports of deaths to Angka Loeu. Out of roughly 800 inhabitants in Phum Svay Sar, about 150 died in the summer.

By September, of the original 215 in Ngy's group, about 15 per cent had died and only ten were strong enough to do their jobs. Ten men had been executed. Three were former soldiers who upon arrival had naively told Comrade Mon the truth about their past. One morning, a communist squad appeared in the field and escorted them into the forest, where Ngy later saw their bullet-punctured bodies. Children spies overheard two police inspectors discussing their former work. Both men were clubbed to death with hoes.

On September 14, the village committee ordered Ngy to patrol the area in the evening after the workday ended. He pleaded that he was so weak he could barely work during the day. A few hours later, Angka Loeu gave him his second Kosang. Comrade Mon shouted, "Stop going against the Wheel of History. Stop refusing orders given by Angka Loeu. There is no reason why you cannot do night duty."

Before Ngy's work group departed for the fields the next

morning, a committee member casually mentioned that soldiers would accompany them. Ngy instantly knew what their presence meant. He sneaked back to his hut, put some valuables in his money belt and slipped his flute into his trousers. Then, kneeling before his mother and putting her feet on his head for the traditional Khmer benediction, he stole into the forest. . . .

THE HUNTED

Nothing so provoked the wrath and cruelty of Angka Loeu as an escape attempt. Escapees seldom received any quarter.

Once triumphant, Angka Loeu began sealing off the entire border with Thailand—a 449-mile frontier that curves through mountains and jungles, across rivers. Villages and settlements were evacuated to create a no-man's-land about three miles wide all along the border. The crossings, their approaches and jungle trails were seeded with mines and boobytraps. . . .

...Throughout the border region, Angka Loeu patrols roamed the jungles and mountains hunting escapees. Keo Kim Taun, a former government soldier, was one of 37 people who tried to escape from the village of Soeur. A patrol spotted them cooking rice in a jungle clearing and opened fire with AK-47 machine guns, killing 21, the youngest of whom was five years old. Keo and the other 15 survivors reached Thailand 12 days later. En route, they saw innumerable corpses of people slaughtered by such patrols. . . .

...Ouk Phon, who escaped from Phum To Tea in the Samrong district, reports: "In one spot I saw about 50 corpses tied together with rope, and elsewhere under a tree, the skeleton of a child, its hands still tied. On the way to the border, I suppose I passed 5,000 bodies. . . ."

Yet despite all the dangers, the will to be free of Angka Loeu was so inextinguishable that each month thousands tried to escape. Although the first waves contained a disproportionate number of students, intellectuals, formerly prosperous tradesmen, civil servants and military personnel, by autumn of 1975, the overwhelming proportion was made

up of "humble country folk recognizable by the heavy tattooing of their bodies, dark skins and coarse hands and feet—the people one would think best suited for the rigors of peasant revolution". . . .

...A NEW DARK AGE

By 1976, Angka Loeu's domination of Cambodia was beyond challenge. And the New Villages, hewn from the wilderness, were, in their fashion, functioning. The December rice crop, described by the communists as "not a bumper one but sufficient for self-supply", had been harvested. Now Angka Loeu seemingly could afford to stabilise the country and ameliorate the deathly rigors. But that was not to be.

In October 1975, monitors abroad listened as the commander in Sisophon received radio orders to prepare for the extermination, after the harvest, of *all* former government soldiers and *civil servants*, regardless of rank, *and their families*. Soon word spread among the communist soldiers that teachers, village chiefs and students were to be included in the toll.

The killing began during early 1976. Before, the organised slaughter largely had been confined to officers and senior civil servants. Now the lowliest private, the most humble civil servant, the most innocent teacher, even foresters and public health officials, became prey.

Father François Ponchaud, a French authority on Cambodia, reports that on January 26, a communist official in the Mongkol Borey district declared: "Prisoners of war (people expelled from cities and villages controlled by the Lon Nol government on April 17) are no longer needed, and local chiefs are free to dispose of them as they please." And after that, the killing rose steadily as Angka Loeu strove to obliterate every human trace of the old government by the first anniversary of its victory. . . .

...After interviewing Cambodian refugees given asylum in France and studying the daily broadcasts of Radio Pnom Penh, Ponchaud concluded that between April 1975 and

February 1976, at least 800,000 Cambodians died as a consequence of famine, disease and execution. Last summer, after one month in Thailand eliciting fresh data from refugees, he concluded that his earlier evaluation was now "far below reality".

The authors, on the basis of their interviews, estimate that, at minimum, 1.2 million men, women and children died in Cambodia between April 17, 1975, and December 1976 as a consequence of the actions of Angka Loeu....

...After the desolation of the cities, the early massacres and in the midst of the first famine, one of the Angka Loeu bosses, Jeng Sary, flew to a special session of the United Nations General Assembly. He left behind a country without universities, commerce, art, music, literature, science or hope....

...Upon landing in New York, Jeng Sary boasted, "The towns have been cleaned"....

**Tiziano
Terzani**

**A HOTBED OF TENSION,
A WEB OF DIVERSION IN THE HEART
OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA***

Der Spiegel, Hamburg, April 10, 1978

Ha Tien, a Vietnamese port on the coast of the South China Sea, has become a ghost town: the doors and windows of the houses are closed, blinds have been lowered in shops and stores, there is not a soul on the streets. The 30,000 inhabitants of Ha Tien have abandoned their city.

Tinh Bien, farther to the east, lies in ruins. The wind howls through the half-ruined buildings. The walls are black from fire. This town is also devoid of human life.

Several hundred people have remained in Moc Noa, located north of Tinh Bien. The stalls of small vendors can be seen here and there. Soldiers are digging trenches next to houses.

The road connecting these populated areas looks as though the recent past, which seemed gone for ever, has returned: multitudes of refugees are rushing along road, where disfigured

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corpses lie about. The people crowd around them, searching for their relatives. One can hear the cries of children, the moans of the wounded. . . .

All this is taking place in a region on the border between two neighbouring countries—Vietnam and Kampuchea. Just recently the citizens of these two countries joined to fight and triumph over a common enemy—the United States.

Only a few months later, however, the flames of war once again engulfed Indochina, taking their deadly toll. This time they licked the 1,100 kilometre border between Vietnam and Kampuchea, which is under the yoke of the Khmer Rouge.

The forces in this struggle would seem to be so unevenly matched that it is obvious who will win. Nonetheless, abandoned towns, destroyed homes and desolate fields line the Kampuchean border on the Vietnamese side and grenades explode in Vietnamese border towns. The Vietnamese population is hurriedly evacuating the border areas and moving further inland.

The Khmers Rouge keep crossing the border attacking Vietnamese villages, terrorising the population and carrying out bloody massacres.

"Late at night I heard screams," relates an inhabitant from the village of Ba Li, five kilometres from Ha Tien and four from the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border. "At that time I didn't know what had happened, but I saw that people were leaving the village in a panic. I started to run too."

The Khmers Rouge attacked the village that night. They hurled themselves on the peaceful villagers with knives and clubs. Those who did not manage to escape in time were killed.

I saw the corpses that the local inhabitants brought to a banana grove the next day—decapitated, limbless, some stabbed with wooden stakes. . . .

Two kilometres from Ba Li, the Khmers Rouge left six bodies in a hut, among them three children. The women's stomachs were torn apart. At the place of the crime they left a piece of paper with the words: "This land belongs to us."

One of the reasons for this ghastly "war" is the claims put forward by the Khmers Rouge to a vast area in the south of

Vietnam stretching to the sea and including Saigon, now renamed Ho Chi Minh.

Initially, for a long time the Vietnamese tried to pacify their cunning neighbour through compromise. They even proposed holding negotiations on national borders—but Pnom Penh continued to fan the hostility.

Thousands of Kampuchean refugees have fled to Vietnam. They are living in camps and are happy no longer “to tremble at night for fear that they are about to be killed”, I was told by one woman, a mother of two children.

Following an abortive coup in Pnom Penh (by those opposed to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime—*Ed.*), the Khmers Rouge organised the general elimination of all old party workers, especially those who had taken part in the anti-American struggle together with the Vietnamese or who simply had been in contact with them.

Isao Takano*

**A REPORT BY SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
OF THE NEWSPAPER AKAHATA****

Akahata, Tokyo, January 27, 1979

**A Secondary School Transformed
into a “Human Slaughterhouse”.
Suppression of the Population
by the Pol Pot Regime.
Bloodstains on the Floor,
the Stench of Corpses**

On January 25, 1979, a group of foreign journalists visiting Pnom Penh saw evidence of the criminal actions of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime.

The public of Japan and the world at large condemn the Pol Pot regime, which ordered the arrest and execution not only of persons with different views, but also doctors, teachers and other intellectuals, who were classified as dangerous elements, since they knew the country’s history. The journalists

* In March this year, Isao Takano was killed by a Chinese sniper while working in the city of Langshon (SRV)—*Ed.*

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who examined the Tuolsleng secondary school on January 25 saw for themselves that the public exposure of the former regime was in no way exaggerated, but based on actual facts: even then the correspondents in the school building could smell the heavy odour of human flesh and saw a wealth of material evidence.

The Tuolsleng school was Pnom Penh's largest joint primary and secondary school, consisting of four three-storey buildings, each with thirty classrooms. This centre of learning was transformed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime into a gigantic prison, moreover, a huge human slaughterhouse. One of the blocs was tightly fenced in with barbed wire and the walls of the classrooms on all the floors had been knocked down, to be replaced by tiny, brick solitary-confinement cells. There were 60 of them on the ground floor; and 80, even smaller ones on both the first and second floors. This is where dozens of people considered to be the most "dangerous" by the Pol Pot regime were apparently confined, chained to the floor.

The terrible stench of human flesh emanated from the southern block of the school. The thirty rooms (ten on each of the three floors) had been transformed into torture chambers. Each of them contained an iron bed, a chain, and also a table and a typewriter (the purpose of the last two is not clear). The bed was 50 cm high with a piece of sheet metal shaped like a net lying on it. Dried bloodstains were clearly visible on the floor, with tufts of hair stuck in them—evidently torn out during interrogations.

What were the authorities, on whose orders people were brought here to be tortured, trying to achieve? People were arrested and tortured simply because they knew the alphabet, were familiar with history and were respected by their neighbours. The whole purpose of all this was simply to subject people to terrible suffering until they actually died. Not one of the prisoners here survived.

The list of those killed records the names of two senior revolutionaries—Hu Nim and Hu Yun. Earlier they had occupied top posts in the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary administration. Also among the prisoners here was Chea Don, editor-in-chief of the party organ, the newspaper *Prachegon* (The

People), who fought the American aggressors together with Hu Nim and Hu Yun.

On January 6, when the liberation army appeared on the outskirts of Pnom Penh, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary ordered all the prisoners to be killed, and this was done. On January 7, the day the city was liberated, human corpses with smashed heads or even completely decapitated, slashed throats and stomachs ripped open were heaped in the prison courtyard. The large yard was literally filled with bodies. On January 6, people had been brought out into the yard, one after the other, and beaten to death with picks, spades and other objects.

What happened on January 6 alone is sufficient for history and the people of Kampuchea to condemn Pol Pot and Ieng Sary as criminals for all time. Those who, even today, still support and whitewash the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, which collapsed precisely as a result of its cruelty, must be condemned as serious accomplices of the crimes committed—the attempt to exterminate the Kampuchean nation wholesale.

W. Burchett

BLOODY TERROR AGAINST THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNITY *

Afrique-Asie, Paris, February 2, 1979

Back in the first thousand years AD, Vietnam was occupied by China. In the year 938, the Vietnamese initiated a resistance movement, and repulsed the conquerors.

After that, however, each Chinese dynasty tried to get Vietnam back again. In the 20th century, the Kuomintang forces occupied the northern part of the country as far as latitude 16.

The Vietnamese revolutionaries were enraged when in 1954 a school textbook came out in Peking containing a map of China that defined 17 countries (wholly or partially) as "inalienable parts of Chinese territory taken over by the imperialists". They included all of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia and Nepal, as well as large areas of India,

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Japan, the USSR and a number of other states. No one denies, of course, that imperialist powers did pursue rapacious policies with respect to China. China itself, however, has the same designs as the Chinese emperors once entertained.

SERIOUS OBSTACLES TO HEGEMONISTIC PLANS

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has become a serious obstacle to Peking in implementing its hegemonistic designs in South-East Asia.

By trumpeting about a struggle against expansionism, China is trying to divert attention from its own expansionism. The contention that the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime was the "result of a plot" is absurd. That the Kampuchean people would rise in revolt was inevitable. Peking's support for Pol Pot was merely a manifestation of the Chinese leadership's general foreign policy line. It supports Pinochet in Chile and Mobutu in Zaire, provided support for the Shah of Iran and the separatists connected with the CIA in Angola. Today it is conniving with US imperialists. Expansionism obliges it to do so!

Like most progressives who supported the Kampucheans in their struggle against American imperialism and the bloody Lon Nol regime, at first I couldn't believe the Kampuchean refugees' terrible accounts: atrocities, the execution of entire families, forced labour, the separating of relatives, forced marriages, widespread starvation, and the physical obliteration of all intellectuals. As time went on, however, evidence of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime's crimes mounted, even though the country was surrounded by a wall of silence. Refugees coming from all the provinces of Kampuchea and belonging to various social strata related horrible, and very similar, stories.

As I had been one of the most ardent defenders of the Kampuchean revolutionaries, I decided that I would be permitted to return to the country, where, I was certain, I would find facts for determining the truth. Yet my endless demarches

before the Kampuchean authorities went unanswered. I was all the more surprised, since during a meeting in October 1975 with Sihanouk, just before his final return to Kampuchea from Peking, he promised me that I would be "one of the first, if not the first, journalist" to come to his country.

It is quite surprising that the first foreigners allowed to enter the country were not specialists on Kampuchea, with the exception of Vittorovic, the Yugoslav newsreel man. In 1978 he made a film about this country and once told me: "The shots I took are terrible to look at. But reality is a hundred times more horrible than what I can talk about."

From my conversations with about a dozen refugees from Kampuchea (including both native Kampucheans and people of Chinese and Vietnamese origin), I realised that even the most gruesome stories cannot fully reflect the real state of affairs. In all my forty years as a journalist I have never heard anything to compare with it.

The preamble to the Programme of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation gives an idea of what Kampuchea went through from April 17, 1975: "For over three years Kampuchea was under a militarist and nazi-type dictatorship of unprecedented cruelty." The reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique held complete sway. In the interests of "radicalising the social revolution on all levels" and under the guise of "cleansing society", it emptied the towns and forced millions of people to leave their homes and property and move into the countryside, dooming them to a life of poverty and to death.

FAILURE OF THE "EXPERIMENT"

The creation of the KUFNS was no accident: it was the natural response of the Kampuchean people to the extremely cruel oppression. From February 1977 to May 1978, six major armed uprisings against Pol Pot took place in various populated areas. The biggest one began on May 28, 1978. Several units from the Pnom Penh 280th and 290th divisions revolted and liberated an area of 15,000 square kilometres in the eastern provinces. The revolt was carried out by 30 battalions, joined

by numerous deserters from Pol Pot's army and many of the 400,000 Kampuchean who had found refuge in Vietnam.

Neither is it surprising that the majority of the members of the KUFNS Central Committee are former top political or military leaders of the Khmer Rouge, who believed that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary had betrayed the revolution. Among them are Heng Samrin, Chairman of the KUFNS Central Committee and a former member of the executive committee of the Kampuchean Communist Party in Zone 203; Roh Samay, General Secretary of the KUFNS Central Committee and a former officer of Pol Pot's headquarters; and Chea Sim, Deputy Chairman of the KUFNS Central Committee and former regional secretary of the Kampuchean Communist Party and a former deputy to the Assembly of People's Representatives.

The role of the Vietnamese in the Kampuchean events is sometimes called an "invasion", if not a "conquest". First, no one in Hanoi had ever tried to conceal Vietnam's support for the KUFNS and readiness to do a great deal to assist it. Moreover, irrespective of Vietnam's actions, the opposition movement would have emerged in Kampuchea, and done everything possible to overthrow the terrorist regime. Finally, the "free world's" memory is obviously very short.

Let us give one example. Several months ago, Senator McGovern, a former presidential candidate, called on the UN to initiate military action to overthrow the regime that James Carter and others justifiably called "barbaric". If McGovern's words had been heeded and if UN troops had ousted Pol Pot, the "free world" would have claimed the credit for liberating Kampuchea.

However, since the Kampuchean people's revolt and overthrow of this odious regime, all in a matter of days, Vietnam has been branded as an aggressor. An objective analysis of Vietnamese-Kampuchean relations over the last few years shows quite clearly which was the aggressor and which the victim.

Let us recall the photographs showing the bodies of hundreds of Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea floating in the Mekong: this was in March 1970, a few days after Lon

Nol came to power. The Vietnamese never accused the Kampuchean people of these crimes even though they, who had been fighting for the freedom of their own country which involved a tremendous loss of life, aided the Kampuchean revolutionaries in their struggle against Lon Nol and his American protectors. It was at this time that, at Sihanouk's request, Vietnam sent two thousand of its top experts to train Kampuchean resistance fighters.

After Lon Nol was overthrown, Pol Pot continued killing Vietnamese people living in Kampuchea. From April 17, 1975 to October 30, 1978, 268,000 Vietnamese fled Kampuchea for Vietnam to escape persecution. Add on those who were killed by Lon Nol, and later by Pol Pot, and it becomes clear that almost the entire Vietnamese community in Kampuchea (500-600 thousand persons) fell victim to the two regimes.

The Vietnamese, however, never resorted to repressions of any sort against the hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans living in the Mekong Delta. On the contrary, the 131,000 Kampucheans who fled from Pol Pot and found refuge in Vietnam were treated in a friendly manner.

In fact, it was the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime that was the aggressor. In December 1978, while on Vietnamese territory, I often came under fire from Pol Pot's artillery. With my own eyes I saw Vietnamese villages wiped off the face of the earth. The cutthroats carried out night raids into Vietnamese territory. Huynh Van Luan, a member of the People's Provincial Committee in Tay Ninh, told me at the time: "Since September 1977, 1,180 people have been killed in our border villages and approximately the same number was wounded. We are evacuating people from areas subjected to bombings and commando attacks. We have abandoned 15,000 hectares of land and have resettled 71,000 people"—and all this in just one province. I learned afterwards that 200,000 hectares of land were abandoned and 1,250,000 people evacuated from the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border area.

Pol Pot stated in an interview on December 23, 1978: "We are attacking them [the Vietnamese] in order to stop them penetrating into several regions of our territory. But if they

were to manage to penetrate, it would be hard for them to get out." Is this not an admission that, in December 1978, there were no Vietnamese troops to be found on Kampuchean territory and that, on the contrary, it was the Pol Pot regime that was mounting "preventive" attacks?

Today there is a truly popular government in power in Pnom Penh, and genuine supporters of peace cannot but welcome the KUFNS and the Vietnamese people who came to their aid.

Part II **THE REBIRTH OF KAMPUCHEA**

On January 7, 1979 a popular anti-Maoist revolution overthrew the reactionary regime of the bloody Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. In a new and genuinely free Kampuchea, the people have become the masters of their country and their own lives.

THE KAMPUCHEA UNITED FRONT FOR NATIONAL SALVATION IS FOUNDED*

Pravda, December 4, 1978

The Vietnamese Information Agency (VIA) reports that, in one of the country's liberated areas, Kampuchean patriots have held a congress attended by representatives of various sections of the population. The congress decided to set up a Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation. The governing body of the Front was elected—a Central Committee of fourteen persons and Heng Samrin named its chairman.

According to the VIA, the congress unanimously approved a declaration on the goals and tasks of the Kampuchean revolution. It contains a call to the people to rally and rise in the struggle to overthrow the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the interests of creating a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, a Kampuchea building socialism.

It was also decided to set up a Kampuchean Information Agency (SPK) and a Voice of Kampuchea radio station.

The SPK has released its first information bulletin. The establishment of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, it reads, accords with the aspirations of the Kampuchean people who are waging a resolute struggle against the present regime—the scion of foreign reactionary forces—and for the establishment of a popular democratic government.

The VIA reports that a meeting was held in one of Kampuchea's liberated regions on the occasion of the formation of the Front. Its participants declared their full support for the

* This and other texts in this section:

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Central Committee of the Front and expressed their confidence that the struggle of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Front would culminate in outright victory.

MANIFESTO OF THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

Pravda, January 12, 1979

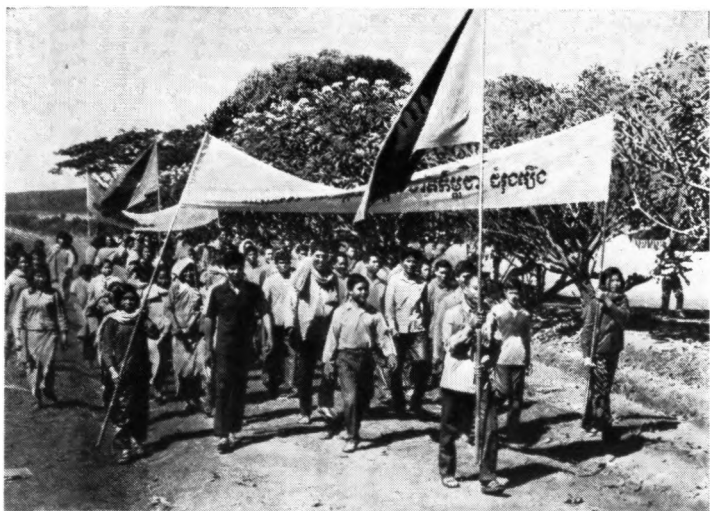
The Kampuchean Information Agency (SPK) has released the Manifesto of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council.

The uprising staged by the Kampuchean people to save the country has triumphed, the document states. On January 7, 1979, the capital city of Pnom Penh was fully liberated. The reactionary dictatorial regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has fallen. Henceforth Kampuchea is genuinely free and independent, and the Kampuchean people are truly the masters of their country and their own lives.

The great victory won under the banner of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation has ushered in a new era in the history of Kampuchea, an era of genuine independence and freedom, when the country is not subjugated to any foreign state. The glorious triumph has put an end to the unjust war unleashed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique at the instigation and with the support of a foreign state, a war that ran counter to the country's national interests and undermined the traditional friendship between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples.

On behalf of the whole Kampuchean people, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council declares: the dictatorial nazi-type regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique is eliminated and the People's Republic of Kampuchea proclaimed.

The Manifesto states that the People's Republic of Kampuchea is implementing the aspirations of the people concerning democratic freedoms, freedom of religion, the right to work, to rest and to education; it respects the dignity and privacy of all citizens and establishes sexual equality and



The inhabitants of a liberated region of Kampuchea welcome the formation of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation. (SPK-TASS photo)



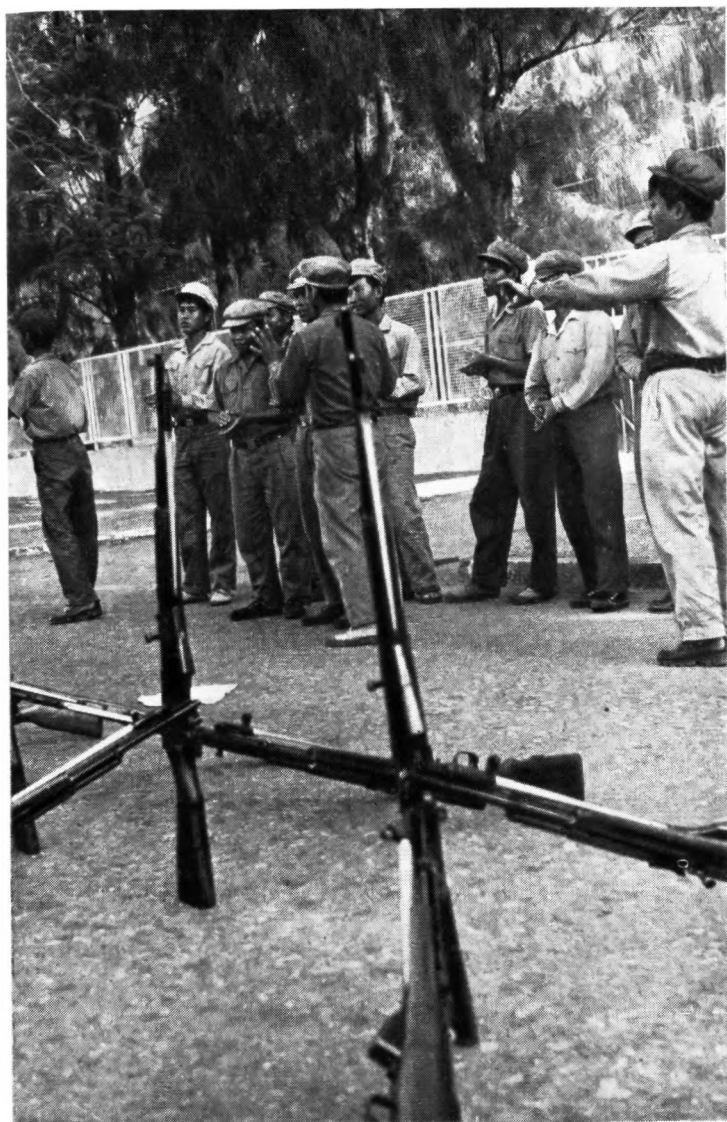
Meeting in support of the declaration of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation. (SPK-TASS photo).



Soldiers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces teach the population of liberated regions to use weapons. (VNA-TASS telephoto)



Guarding the democratic victories of People's Kampuchea (TASS photo).



Soldiers of the revolutionary army snatch a minute's rest. (TASS photo)



The people of Pnom Penh welcome their liberators. (VNA-TASS telephoto).



Flag of free Kampuchea flying from a Pnom Penh theatre building. (TASS photo)



Meeting in the outskirts of Pnom Penh. The banners read: "Glory to the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council!", and "Glory to the complete liberation of Kampuchea!"



People from Swairieng Province returning home from concentration camps. (TASS photo)



Peasants, forced by the Pol Pot regime into so-called "communes", returning home. (TASS photo)



Kampucheans who had fled from the brutality of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime to neighbouring countries wait to cross the Mekong River. (TASS photo)



Orphaned Kampuchean children. (MTI-TASS telephoto)



Representatives of people's power distribute rice among the population.
(TASS telephoto)



Soldiers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces help peasants harvest rice.
(TASS telephoto)



In the fields of Swairieng Province. (TASS photo)

equality among the various nationalities living in Kampuchea.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea is pursuing a foreign policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment, striving to contribute to the cause of peace, stability and prosperity in South-East Asia, and to the cause of peace and progress the world over.

The People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, declares that it is the only legitimate representative of the country in interstate relations, in the UN, in the non-alignment movement and in other international organisations that Kampuchea has joined. The Council declares that it will maintain the diplomatic relations existing between Kampuchea and other countries, and that it is prepared to establish diplomatic relations with other states on the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for the independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of other nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of each state, and equality of and respect for mutual interests.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council is firmly convinced that peace-loving peoples and governments all over the world will continue to support the just struggle of the Kampuchean people, whose goal is to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, a Kampuchea progressing towards socialism.

HENG SAMRIN ASSUMES LEADERSHIP OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

New Times, No. 6, 1979

Heng Samrin, Chairman of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, was born in a poor peasant family in the south-eastern province of Preyveng in 1934.

He joined the revolutionary movement in 1959. In the first half of the 1970s, he fought against the pro-American regime, commanding first a battalion and then a regiment.

In 1976, he became political commissar and commander of the Fourth Division in Kampong Cham. After that he was Deputy Chief of Staff of the Eastern Military Zone and a member of its Party Committee.

In May 1978, Heng Samrin assumed command of the insurgent forces fighting against the tyrannical Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and co-operated with other patriotic forces in the struggle to overthrow the bloody regime. In November, he called upon the population of the Eastern Zone and the whole country to rise against the treacherous militarist regime in Pnom Penh.

At their congress early in December, the patriots set up the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation and elected Heng Samrin Chairman of its Central Committee. On January 8 of this year, Pnom Penh was liberated by the revolutionary forces and the People's Revolutionary Council, the supreme body of executive power (government) of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, was formed.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE REACTIONARY REGIME

Heng Samrin, *Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Kampuchea United Front
for National Salvation, Chairman
of the People's Revolutionary Council*

HENG SAMRIN'S SPEECH AT THE VICTORY MEETING IN PHOM PENH [REPORTED BY THE KAMPUCHEAN INFORMATION AGENCY (SPK)]

Comrade commanders, delegates from provinces, districts and revolutionary bodies throughout the country!

Comrade commanders and soldiers of the entire country, who represent three categories of the armed forces—regular troops, regional troops and partisans, the finest sons of the Kampuchean people!

Fellow countrymen!

Today we are all gathered here like our people, our commanders and soldiers have gathered all over the country, to celebrate, with boundless joy and excitement, and in a festive atmosphere, the great victory of January 7, 1979. This victory liberated Pnom Penh and the entire country, toppled the military dictatorship of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionary clique that had doomed the people to annihilation, and freed our Kampuchea from it forever.

On January 7, 1979, more than on any other day, the entire Kampuchean people—boys and girls, old people, officers and men—experienced limitless joy; this was a day of historic importance, a day when they overthrew the reactionary and cruel social system headed by the insane clique of the traitors Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, and saved our nation, completely liberating Pnom Penh and the entire country for the second time since victory of April 17, 1975.

January 7, 1979 is truly a glorious day for the Kampuchean people, as well as for our countrymen who have taken refuge in various countries. It is a glorious day because the entire people of Kampuchea were freed from cruel shackles and escaped the barbarous extermination being wreaked by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary cutthroats. From now on people can live together with their families and relatives, can reunite and restore family happiness in the national community, exercising their genuine freedoms as citizens of Kampuchea; they can be true masters of society, masters of the fruits of their labour; never again will anyone be able to plunder or exploit them.

Comrade commanders and soldiers! Dear countrymen!

The red banner, bearing five golden towers, waves majestically over the whole country and before our eyes. It is a true symbol of the will and sacred aspirations of the Kampuchean people, as this banner could only come into existence thanks to the countless sacrifices made by commanders, soldiers and our entire people, these patriots and true revolutionaries, whose blood has been spilled all over our beloved land.

On this great holiday, all of us—commanders, soldiers and civilians—bow our heads in deep respect and sorrow in honour of the millions of our finest comrades, commanders, soldiers

and civilians who fell fighting for national liberation, the liberation of the people, and for class liberation. It is with deep respect and admiration that we bow our heads to honour the memory of the millions of commanders, soldiers and revolutionary patriots who perished tragically under the blows of the criminal, reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the accomplices of Peking's great-power expansionism.

Let us remember one indelible fact: the blood of our commanders and soldiers, of our people, flowed like a river and drowned our land. Their bodies have filled almost all bomb craters, lakes and swamps all over our country.

Dear fellow countrymen and friends!

As our countrymen know, during the war to repulse the aggression of US imperialism and its reactionary accomplices Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and Son Ngok Thanh, a war that lasted five years, our people, our officers and men sustained tremendous losses defending our nation and its people.

Following the country's complete liberation on April 17, 1975, our people should have received the right to live in peace, genuine democracy and prosperity in accordance with its aspirations. After national liberation, however, all social strata of our people, in the cities as well as the villages, experienced even greater misfortunes. The hopes and enthusiasm of the people were turned into mass suffering, and Kampuchea became a sea of blood under Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, kowtowing puppets of Peking expansionism and traitors to their country, to the people, the revolution, and Marxism-Leninism.

The reactionaries Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are traitors with extremely barbarous and cruel characters, passing themselves off as revolutionaries and Marxists-Leninists. After usurping the highest leadership of the party and the government and taking power into their own hands, they began carrying out their treacherous plan that they had worked out long ago. Claiming to be revolutionaries and fighters for the nation's cause, they committed countless and indescribable crimes of barbarism and insanity against the people, against genuine patriots and revolutionaries. Specifically, these crimes are the following:

1. In the political sphere, under the label of "socialist revolution" and preaching the so-called complete abolition of classes and social vestiges, they eliminated cities, markets, and money; they forced the urban population to leave the cities and sent them into the countryside, to the mountains and forests. As a result, millions of people were doomed to a wretched existence; vast numbers of them perished either from hunger or disease, or were simply executed.

Theirs was reactionary, dictatorial, militarist and nazi-type policy. They seized all power in the party and the government for themselves and their families, taking cruel measures against the people and patriots of Kampuchea. During the past three years our people have been living under unusually difficult conditions of oppression and coercion.

The Pol Pot clique deprived the people of any freedom, shutting their eyes, closing their mouths, plugging their ears, hopping off their arms and legs. They forbade any relations among people and freedom of movement from place to place. The people did not have the right to express their opinions, to complain, to demand, to listen or to read. There was no freedom of religion, no right to control one's own life or property, the fruits of one's labour. At the same time, they forbade all contacts between people, between spouses, between children and their parents, between brothers and sisters. Not only did they break all emotional ties, they also divided the people up into different categories and undermined the people's fine traditions, engendering conflicts between parents and children, between brothers and sisters, provoking hatred between them, making it impossible for them to even look one another in the eye, thus deepening the abyss of hatred that was tearing the people apart.

The saddest problem, however, the one that aroused the most searing hatred, was the fact that they lied, moreover always under the pretext of liquidating the CIA agents and spies who were supposed to be working for Vietnam. On the basis of these reactionary contentions, they also began arresting civilians, commanders and soldiers, throwing them into jail, torturing them and physically liquidating them. They concocted lies, and arrested and murdered people at will.

Their order to arrest or execute someone had to be carried out without demur. Anyone who protested or refused to obey was automatically condemned to death. They manufactured all kinds of pretexts, claiming a person was guilty of treason, and thus forced revolutionaries to kill revolutionaries. They ordered revolutionaries to commit crimes against the people according to the principle of killing two birds with one stone. They poisoned the minds of the young people and evoked in them a thirst for crimes. They turned the armed forces, the sons of the people, into a weapon serving their own dictatorial policies.

In just three years they killed millions of our commanders and soldiers, and patriots, men and women alike. They murdered them in the vilest of ways—with hoes, bamboo sticks, hammers, bayonets, etc. Thus our people, young and old, men and women, perished under the cruellest of conditions.

In some places they wiped out whole villages, communes and families, including pregnant women or those who had just given birth, the elderly, newborn babies, even the mentally ill. They deliberately separated husbands from wives, children from parents, brothers from sisters, and all in the most cruel fashion.

Such was the genocide carried out by the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique on the orders of their Peking masters.

2. In the economic sphere, on the pretext of “eliminating classes and private property”, they concentrated the means of production in their own hands, condemning the people to the most squalid existence, forcing them to go about in rags and to do forced labour under conditions the Kampuchean people had never seen in their entire history.

They scorned the workers and peasants and treated them worse than cattle, simply turning them into the lowest of slaves, whom they could dispose of at will. Throughout the day, the month, the year, in the dry as well as the rainy season, our people were forced to work full out, without a break, for such were the norms imposed by the clique. All the fruits of the people’s labour, which were obtained by their sweat and blood, were taken away from them, and they

were doomed to aimlessness, back-breaking labour, to hunger and extreme deprivation.

At the same time, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary squandered the country's natural riches, particularly in the cities, which were turned into ashes and ruins, into a garbage dump, where almost nothing remained; they also brought the country's economy to ruin.

Yet they were forced to make heart-rendering incantations, such as "to love our people with our whole heart, and serve them well" while in fact Pol Pot and Ieng Sary treated these people inhumanly.

3. In the cultural sphere, they pursued a policy of complete obscurantism to make it easier for them to exploit the people. Not only did they not build new schools so that children, young people and the whole people could gain knowledge, they even destroyed existing schools, turning them into ammunition dumps or fertiliser warehouses, or simply razing them to the ground. They eliminated the entire educational system on all levels, the end result being no schooling for anyone.

Moreover, they barbarously killed researchers, cultural figures, performers, pupils, students, instructors, professors, all other intellectuals, and so on.

At the same time, they uprooted a fine civilisation that had existed since ancient times. They turned the wonderful country of Angkor-Wat into a place of sorrow, a sea of blood and mountains of corpses. The ancient temples, gardens and parks built by Kampuchean craftsmen, which were fine examples of our nation's glorious civilisation were destroyed by them and turned into wastelands.

The customs and glorious traditions of our country and its people were trampled on and stamped out.

In the most crude manner they violated the freedom of the people, thus proceeding counter to socialist principles. They did not allow our people any religious freedom.

In the social sphere, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary paid no attention to the life and health of the people. The health of the population dropped markedly over the last three years. People became thin and anaemic, turned literally into walking

skeletons. Their strength was sapped, and they contracted all kinds of diseases. The death rate shot up from the lack of medicines.

At the same time, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary destroyed all the people's emotional ties, forbidding parents to live with their children, married couples to live together or neighbours to have contact with one another, etc. Moreover, they took away all freedom, even a young person's freedom to choose a spouse. They outlawed all national traditions; there were forced and group marriages, running completely counter to national customs.

4. The foreign policy pursued by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was aimed entirely at serving the interests of a foreign power.

To be more frank, it was a policy shaped to meet the designs of the Peking officials. The clique elaborated and carried out this policy in full accordance with the Peking leaders' model of reactionary policy. The traitors Pol Pot and Ieng Sary sold out their country and their people to the Peking clique for a pittance, so that it could pursue its expansionist policies in accordance with its most devious hegemonistic designs, its policy of pillaging the natural riches of Kampuchea and murdering the Kampuchean people.

On the other hand, under the guise of "safeguarding national independence", they began a propaganda campaign in the country and abroad, based on sectarian nationalism, provocation and slander, fanning hatred between the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam, resurrecting ancient history to provoke a border war and forcing the army to perpetrate acts of aggression, killing tens of thousands of Vietnamese. They libellously accused the Kampuchean commanders, soldiers, patriots and ordinary citizens, men and women alike, of supporting Vietnam's actions.

This was to make it easier for them to pursue their policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people, a policy that they recently carried out in a most cruel and barbarous fashion. They pursued this policy in accordance with the plans and orders of reactionaries in the Chinese government, to raise an obstacle to freedom and peace all over the world,

as well as in South-East Asia, and for the sole purpose of completely annexing Kampuchea; if they had been successful they would, in fulfilling their hegemonistic aspirations on a world-wide scale, have proceeded to annex all of South-East Asia.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary puppet clique and their Peking bosses are, however, doing everything in their power to use their propaganda to conceal their true, treacherous and base designs, claiming that they are honest, upright people, guided by firm and noble aspirations. They later intend to slander our people, contending that all Kampucheans are traitors and that Vietnam is guilty of aggression and the mass destruction of the people of Kampuchea. All these assertions glaringly contradict the real state of affairs. It is Pol Pot and Ieng Sary who have betrayed the country and the people, who have betrayed the national interests. It is they who are reactionary militarists and even crueller barbarians than the nazis. All the Kampuchean patriots, all genuine Kampuchean revolutionaries are clearly aware of the real nature of the treacherous Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and of the reactionary mien of the Peking officials.

Their party was far from a party of the working class and in no way reflected the interests of the people. The truth is that their party was a pseudo-party; one that betrayed the interests of the working class and all the people, and the interests of socialism. All the top posts in the party were seized by them and members of their families, and the people actually had no power to be the true masters of their own fate.

The people of Kampuchea, true patriots and revolutionaries, nourishing a deep hatred of them, incessantly rose up against them; although Pol Pot and Ieng Sary resorted to all sorts of manoeuvres and military tricks to destroy, oppress and terrorise the people in the most barbarous fashion, they could not suppress their fighting spirit, because the people were inspired by a noble feeling of self-sacrifice; they were strong with their age-old military traditions, and full of determination to overcome all difficulties and withstand all suffering and deprivation; they were ready to undergo innumerable trials and not give up in the face of the enemy's

cruel and barbarous acts. The more crimes the enemy committed, the greater the hatred the popular masses nourished towards him, the stronger the fighting spirit of the people, who struggled even more courageously.

Millions of our fellow citizens valiantly gave their lives for their country; their bodies would form mountains; our hills and rivers are running with their blood. Their example is an inspiration to all the people of Kampuchea to rally around the revolutionary and patriotic principles in order to make them their own goals and their own principles of struggle. Thus was founded the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation which, on December 2, 1978, published its political programme consisting of 11 points.

The birth of the KUFNS was greeted and heartily supported by all our people, and it gave an added boost to the fighting spirit of the people, who were becoming more resolute with each coming day, creating panic within the clique of the traitors Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. It was in this situation that the genuine Revolutionary Armed Forces of Kampuchea launched simultaneous attacks against the traitors' troops. At that time, the populace rose up all over the country and, acting in conjunction with the Revolutionary Armed Forces, struck crushing blows at the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, whose army was in a state of confusion and completely demoralised, having sustained enormous casualties and suffered disgraceful defeats. Both the Peking traitors and their henchmen sustained shameful and irreparable defeats. This proves that no reactionary force, no matter where it comes from or how cruel it is, can halt the valiant struggle of a people relying on the fine militant traditions and the traditions of firm unity, as has been the case with our Kampuchean people.

The capital, Phnom Penh, and our entire country was liberated on January 7, 1979, and today the people of Kampuchea and the Revolutionary Armed Forces are organising this holiday to mark the triumph in an atmosphere of great joy and enthusiasm. Very many of our friends all over the world share our joy in this historic victory and decisively condemn the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. We owe this great

triumph to the unity of our Kampuchean people and to our revolutionary armed forces, which fought under the banner of our glorious Front. The victory of the Kampuchean people is not only a victory for Kampuchea, but also for all oppressed and exploited people fighting for genuine national independence and peace throughout the world. Our triumph in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorial and militarist Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime and to derail Peking's expansionist aspirations is our humble contribution to safeguarding peace and independence in South-East Asia and to the world-wide struggle for national liberation and for the establishment of genuine peace and independence.

This great victory of the Kampuchean people, of our Kampuchean revolution, is inseparable from the assistance we have received in all spheres by the peoples of the socialist countries, who are at once our comrades and our brothers; it has become a victory for the peoples of all countries who desire peace, a victory for justice the world over.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, the Kampuchea Revolutionary Armed Forces, and the entire country, it is with great joy that we express our gratitude to the fraternal countries for their friendship and solidarity with us. In particular, we would like to reiterate our deep love and boundless gratitude to the Communist Party of Vietnam, the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the fraternal Vietnamese people, our comrades-in-arms, who contributed unstintingly in all spheres and in a spirit of genuine proletarian internationalism to the revolutionary cause of the Kampuchean people.

We pledge to do our utmost to strengthen and develop ties and co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries, our friends, in order, actively and constantly, to further the establishment of friendship and solidarity, thus laying the foundations for joint actions to secure and preserve independence, peace, social progress and the national liberation struggle of peoples all over the world.

Fellow countrymen!

Our country is free again; our people have rid themselves

of misfortune and can now live in freedom and in the pursuit of happiness. The bloody reactionary regime that oppressed the people has been overthrown. Though we all feel joy and excitement, we must realise that our country and its people still face numerous difficulties and obstacles, and we must make every effort to overcome all of them. Moreover, the imperialist and expansionist enemy and the clique of traitors that has just been defeated, as well as all our other enemies, have far from abandoned their vile aspirations and evil designs. They will continue to devise all kinds of plots and intrigues and will stop at nothing in their attempts to undermine our revolution and all that we are trying to do.

In addition, our country and its economy has been almost completely devastated by the destructive war waged by US imperialism and later by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionaries and the Peking expansionists. For this reason, our people and our armed forces must preserve their military traditions, overcome all difficulties, withstand suffering and hardship and make any sacrifice necessary to defend the victory of our revolution and the revolutionary government, to restore the economy and the country in order to improve our people's living conditions as quickly as possible.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council calls on all the citizens of our country to begin accomplishing the following specific and urgent tasks:

1. To continue heightening revolutionary vigilance and to suppress any attempts by any enemy to undermine our revolution and our cause.

2. To continue to repulse the enemies that are fiercely fighting against the revolution and people's power.

3. Systematically and invariably to ensure, consolidate and develop unity in our ranks, in order to defend the country and successfully build the state system.

4. To work hard to solve problems pertaining to the people's living conditions, in order to put an end to poverty as quickly as possible.

5. To overcome all difficulties in order to ensure a good harvest this year and to prepare actively for the crop of the coming monsoon season.

6. Actively to instil, strengthen and develop a feeling of solidarity with friendly countries throughout the world; in particular, to establish good relations with neighbouring states and constantly improve these relations, in order to form a powerful force to fight the common enemy.

Dear fellow countrymen! Dear commanders and soldiers of our country!

In an atmosphere of the great joy on this day, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council, we wish all our countrymen good health, and new and greater success in carrying out all their tasks.

We wish good health to all officers and men belonging to the three categories of the armed forces, so that they might successfully carry out their task of defending the country and of building a strong and prosperous People's Republic of Kampuchea.

We wish good health to the delegates from provinces and districts, ministries, committees and departments, and to administrative and office workers throughout the country, so that they might, creatively and successfully, execute the revolutionary tasks entrusted to them by the country and the people.

Long live the glorious People's Republic of Kampuchea!

Long live the great victory of January 7, 1979!

May the unity of the entire people and all the armed forces grow in strength for the purpose of building an independent, peaceful, democratic and prosperous People's Republic of Kampuchea, a Kampuchea advancing towards socialism!

Let us actively strengthen and develop the traditional feelings of solidarity and friendship between the people of Kampuchea and those of the socialist countries, as well as between all peace-loving and progressive forces throughout the world.

Long live the true Kampuchean revolution!

Long live the heroic People's Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!

Long live the great people of Kampuchea!

Long live the great victory of the armed forces and people of Kampuchea on January 7, 1979!

Any cruel plot by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and their bosses is doomed to failure!

KAMPUCHEA: TOWARDS REBIRTH AND RENEWAL

Za rubezhom, No. 13, 1979

It was with a sense of profound satisfaction that the progressive world public received the news of the heroic Kampuchean people's victory over the bloody regime of Peking's henchmen Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. This triumph has opened up favourable prospects for strengthening peace and security and for consolidating all anti-imperialist forces in South-East Asia on the principles of peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. The positive changes that have taken place in the region have not, however, been to the liking of some, particularly reactionary forces in the West and the Peking leaders. In a talk with Kaarle Nordenstreng, President of the International Organisation of Journalists, who visited Kampuchea on the invitation of the revolutionary government. Heng Samrin, Chairman of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, discusses the present situation in the country and the changes that have taken place since the victory of the revolution. Also participating in this discussion were Hun Sen, a council member and minister of foreign affairs and Keo Chanda, a council member and minister of information, press and culture.

Heng Samrin. How do you feel after your long trip?

K. Nordenstreng. Marvellous. We are happy to be in liberated Kampuchea. Thank you for your kind invitation to visit your country. Allow me to extend to you fraternal greetings and best wishes from journalists and from the progressive world public.

Heng Samrin. We are sincerely grateful to you for visiting us, especially since your visit is taking place during the first days after the complete liberation of our country. As you have already noticed, we are presently encountering great difficulties caused by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which brought our people untold suffering. Our army and people have resolutely cast out their odious regime. This is a great victory for the Kampuchean people, a victory won with the support of the socialist countries and all progressive forces throughout the world. This victory will make it possible to turn Kampuchea into a prosperous country. During the reconstruction process, our people will have to overcome tremendous difficulties, since they must start from scratch. Before being liberated, Phnom Penh was an absolute ghost town; now we shall have to bring it back to life. Although the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime suffered a crushing defeat and its army was destroyed by our forces, some of its detachments are still attempting to terrorise our people and struggle against the Kampuchean revolution. These are the death throes of the bloody clique. For the time being, we are still unable to ensure our country's full security: Pol Pot's scions will still continue to function for a time, offering resistance to our army, but we are firmly determined to eliminate these bands; we shall not allow them to terrorise the Kampuchean people.

**SUPPORT FROM ALL THE WORLD'S
PEACE-LOVING FORCES**

K. Nordenstreng. We are certain that you will not only be able to eliminate the last vestiges of the Pol Pot regime, but also quickly bring the country back to normal. In this you have the support of the socialist countries and all progressive forces throughout the world. To organise this support it is important that you furnish reliable, correct information about your society. Unfortunately, because of the widespread slander and distortion of the facts that prevailed until recently, the world public was kept in the dark about what was taking place in Kampuchea. Even progressive circles came up against

formidable difficulties in obtaining reliable information about developments in Kampuchea. Many bourgeois mass media share the Maoist stand on the recent events in your country. At the same time, there are a good number of people, even ones holding progressive views, that believe the victory of the Kampuchean people and their liberation was only possible thanks to Vietnam and the presence of Vietnamese troops. Moreover, the world public is still poorly informed about Pol Pot's criminal policy with respect to the Kampuchean people. For this reason, I want to propose to you, or rather urge you, to do all you can to speed up visits to your country by progressive journalists with a positive attitude towards you, who would provide objective information about the Kampuchean revolution.

Heng Samrin. We are prepared to grant progressive journalists the opportunity to visit our country, but we are facing tremendous difficulties, including ensuring the safety of foreign correspondents. But I am sure we shall be able to take care of this problem in the very near future.

Hun Sen. We were pleased to receive the message supporting the Kampuchean revolution sent by the International Organisation of Journalists as victory grew near. Your help and assistance played a major part in the triumph of the Kampuchean people. We know that certain people would not be averse to distorting the true state of affairs in Kampuchea, so your visit will provide the people of the world with a better idea of what is really going on here.

K. Nordenstreng. Could you tell us about what position women are in within Kampuchean society since the victory of the revolution?

Keo Chanda. As a result of the criminal policies pursued by the past regime, Kampuchean women were, for a long time, separated from those dear to them; the present policy of the KUFNS, however, is aimed at reuniting families that were separated by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

K. Nordenstreng. How many families will have lost the husband, wife or children?

Heng Samrin. Under the Pol Pot regime every single family was broken up; so far it is hard to say how many people

will manage to find their relatives. According to preliminary estimates, some three million of the eight-million Kampuchean population, died or were murdered. These figures are not final, however.

K. Nordenstreng. Does this number include people who died from starvation and disease?

Heng Samrin. The figure covers those who were physically destroyed, who perished in prison torture chambers or who died from starvation and disease. There is not a single family in Kampuchea today that did not suffer from the repressions in which an enormous number of people perished. This refers primarily to intellectuals, engineers, and skilled workers, that is, to those with any education at all.

KAMPUCHEANS RETURN TO HEARTH AND HOME

K. Nordenstreng. Has the population begun returning home?

Heng Samrin. People can now go back to their native cities, towns and villages. We have already set about creating the appropriate conditions for this. The schools and hospitals that were destroyed have started to be rebuilt in some areas.

K. Nordenstreng. When will you be able to reopen the schools?

Keo Chanda. In heavily populated regions, particularly those that were under our control from the very outset, the schools are already open. Unfortunately, we haven't yet been able to open them in recently liberated districts.

K. Nordenstreng. Where are you finding teachers from? Are they teachers from the old schools?

Keo Chanda. All the teachers were barbarously killed during the rule of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. While the war was on we trained teachers in the liberated regions and set up special teaching courses.

K. Nordenstreng. You keep mentioning the liberated districts from which the struggle against the Pol Pot regime was waged. From roughly what time were you able to normalise life in these districts and firmly establish yourself there?

Hun Sen. Late 1977. Long before the formation of the KUFNS we were already in control of a considerable area, where life had been more or less normalised.

K. Nordenstreng. In what part of the country?

Hun Sen. Primarily in the northeast of Kampuchea.

K. Nordenstreng. Near the Laotian border?

Hun Sen. Yes, in the areas bordering on Laos and Vietnam.

K. Nordenstreng. Were there people who supported Pol Pot because they were taken in by his slogans, but would now like to establish contact with you?

Heng Samrin. Pol Pot and Ieng Sary had very few followers. The majority of the Kampuchean population supports the KUFNS. Every family lost at least one member to the bloody regime, so Pol Pot and Ieng Sary obviously don't enjoy much support among the Kampuchean people.

K. Nordenstreng. What are the plans of the Kampuchea United Front as regards rebuilding the political system? Do you intend to follow Vietnam's example and create several political parties?

Keo Chanda. We are attempting to create a United Front representing the broadest strata of workers to rally all the political and religious organisations in the country. We do not want any party to remain outside the Front.

K. Nordenstreng. Does this imply religious freedom?

Keo Chanda. The Front supports full freedom of religious belief. The ruined temples and pagodas are now being restored.

K. Nordenstreng. Are you opposed to the capitalists of Lon Nol's time returning to the country?

Heng Samrin. Definitely. It is not the bourgeoisie of the Lon Nol regime that is to play the leading role in our society. Many Kampuchean capitalists who remained in the country were killed under the Pol Pot regime and their property confiscated. If surviving members of the bourgeoisie wish to co-operate with the KUFNS, we will be only too glad to welcome them.

K. Nordenstreng. Do you intend, during the reconstruction of the economy, to introduce a system of small private enter-

prise as the core of the country's economic system or do you plan to rely solely on the public sector?

Heng Samrin. Heavy industry will be fully nationalised. As for consumer and handicrafts industries, private enterprise will be permitted, but under state control.

"THE UNITED FRONT IS OUR ARMY"

K. Nordenstreng. What is the position of the KUFNS armed forces at the moment?

Heng Samrin. The mass extermination of the people by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique resulted in an armed uprising against the bloody regime. In the beginning, however, the resistance forces were initially small and disorganised; later they began to unite. At present we have well-knit, powerful armed forces capable of completely eliminating the remaining Pol Pot bands.

Hun Sen. Our armed forces had already been formed by the time the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation was created. They include large units of the regular army and semi-military formations, so I want to point out that the entire United Front is our army.

Heng Samrin. As for the administrative structure, right after the victory we began creating people's revolutionary committees both in town and country. Today we have provincial, district and village committees.

K. Nordenstreng. Does this organisational structure extend to all villages and settlements, or is it just in the development stage?

Heng Samrin. It should be pointed out that this structure existed even prior to liberation, but it was only after our victory that we were able to establish it at all levels, from top to bottom. Today we can state that our administrative structure covers both town and country. There is certainly a lot more to be done in improving it.

K. Nordenstreng. What is the size of the army headed by the KUFNS?

Heng Samrin. Our armed forces are subdivided into cen-

tral, provincial and local groups. We have a navy and an air force. At present we are still pursuing disintegrated Pol Pot units, so we don't think it would be wise to disclose the number of our forces. I want to note specially that our government highly appreciates the support we have received from the broad population. The vast majority of the Kampuchean people is on our side, and Pol Pot's henchmen are completely isolated: only a small fraction of the population has sided with them. We feel that the policies of the United Front fully meet the needs of our country and the demands of the times.

K. Nordenstreng. At the present stage, the main task for all progressive journalists here is to report correctly and justly on all the changes and events taking place in your country, including the "achievements", if we may call them that, of the Pol Pot regime.

Hun Sen. We appreciate your suggestions and support. The world public and the non-aligned countries can render substantial aid to the people of Kampuchea. For example, the government of Cuba recently established diplomatic relations with us and opened an embassy in Pnom Penh.

K. Nordenstreng. Yet, a number of non-aligned states, such as Yugoslavia, are still very reserved about the new Kampuchean government.

Hun Sen. Although some non-aligned countries have indeed been demonstrating a certain restraint, we hope that, in the very near future, they will realise what has really been happening.

V. Skvortsov FACING THE FUTURE

Pravda, January 31, 1979

When the small AN-24 pierced through the clouds and began its descent towards Pochen tong Airport, the ground was hardly visible, but the outline of the four-headed "dragon" formed by confluence near Pnom Penh of the Bassac and Tonle Sap and the two branches of the Mekong could already be made out.

These water arteries establish the entire rhythm of the life of the country, the majority of whose population is engaged in agriculture. At the end of the rainy season, which lasts from May to October and coincides with the snow melt in Tibet, where the Mekong's source is located, a high water is created in the Tonle Sap River, the rise being as much as ten metres near the capital. Later the current comes to a halt and begins rushing in the other direction. The people celebrate virtually as a holiday the day when the Tonle Sap frees itself from the onslaught of the Mekong and once again sends its waters toward the sea. They used to determine the end of the merciless flood by stretching a rope made of ox-sinews across the river. As soon as the rope began to sag in a southerly direction it was cut in the middle and the ends shown to the thousands of people from Pnom Penh.

A comparison automatically arises between this natural phenomenon and the situation that took shape in Kampuchea in late 1978-early 1979 and ended in victory of the people. The reactionary pro-Peking regime imposed from outside was swept away by waves of popular indignation and it was in the crucible of the struggle that the People's Republic of Kampuchea was conceived.

This ancient country's road to freedom and independence was a difficult and complex one. In 1863, French colonisers imposed a treaty on Kampuchea, making it a protectorate. Colonial enslavement lasted 90 years, until the country attained independence in 1954, after a long political and armed struggle. The young state's desire to consolidate its independence was supported by the socialist countries.

With help from the United States, which wished to use Kampuchea as a new springboard for continuing its "dirty war" in Indochina, a pro-American military grouping seized power in Pnom Penh in March 1970.

On April 17, 1975, the people's selfless struggle against American intervention and the Pnom Penh puppet regime culminated in victory. At last, so it seemed, the country would be able to start building a new and happy life. Yet, by temporarily hiding its true character, the pro-Peking Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique managed to seize top administrative

posts in democratic Kampuchea and usurped the fruits of victory. The country became a sphere for the implementation of a Peking-style "cultural revolution", and a bridge-head for provocation against Vietnam.

Yet the people of Kampuchea did not remain silent during these, the most grim years of their history. In Phnom Penh, in the Peking puppets' main political prison, located in the Tuolsleng school buildings, I saw a file containing thousands and thousands of names of patriots sent to their death by the Pol Pot hangmen. As Roh Samay, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS) relates, uprisings against the fascist clique that had betrayed the revolution began long ago. The first major centre of resistance appeared in the west of the country, near the town of Siem Reap. In 1976, the flames of the popular movement caught the provinces Battambang, Kan Dal, Kah Kong and Siem Reap. The following year thousands of people—peasants, servicemen and urban residents who had been resettled in rural localities—also rose up in the provinces of Kra Tieh, Mondol Kiri and Kampon Chang. In 1978, patriotic forces were already operating in 16 of the country's 19 provinces. As the liberation movement gained momentum, on December 2, 1978, the KUFNS was formed and then led the people to victory. It was inevitable that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime would soon fall. The bloody regime enjoyed no support at all among the people.

The declaration of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the creation of its government—the People's Revolutionary Council (PRC), the true representative of the people and their aspirations—inaugurated a new stage in the life of the country.

"The red banner with the five golden towers of ancient Angkor Wat that is waving over us now," said PRC Chairman Heng Samrin, "is a genuine symbol of the sacred hopes of the Kampuchean people, for we were able to raise our banner thanks to the sacrifices and blood spilt by the countless fighters and patriots who gave their lives for their beloved country, for national liberation."

On January 25, 1979 the water and electricity were turned on in the capital's Pnom hotel, formerly called the Royal. The city's municipal services, which had been completely disrupted, are gradually returning to normal. As Hang Sarin, Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Committee of Pnom Penh, told me during an interview, solving what seems to be the simplest of problems involves great difficulties. This was the case, for example, with providing ordinary cups for the first workers to return from the countryside. Throughout the country even the shabbiest utensils were "socialised" and disappeared without a trace, since in the "communes" people ate together, from common pots. One of the tasks of the people's committee was to provide every family with at least their own pot. Organising the return of millions of displaced persons to their homes is a job only just beginning, relates Keo Chanda, member of the People's Revolutionary Council, minister of information, press and culture. All local power is wielded by people's self-government committees, which are doing everything possible to provide the people with food, clothing and housing; they are organising production, rebuilding enterprises, looking after children, the sick and elderly, and are reconstructing schools.

"The most important thing now," Keo Chanda explained, "is to overcome the present critical shortages, the difficulties and suffering as quickly as possible. Later we will begin restoring the economy on a broader scale. Under our conditions, the emphasis will naturally be placed on agriculture. We intend to put through socialist transformations in the countryside step by step, gradually, with due consideration for the specific conditions and interests of the peasants. One of our priorities is to develop the public sector in industry."

The People's Republic of Kampuchea is laying down concrete guidelines for reconstruction and is preparing to begin peaceful construction after these long and tragic years. Its revolutionary patriotic forces and the entire people, rallied around the KUFNS Central Committee and the PRC, are determined to consolidate the popular democratic system, progress along socialist lines, pursue a policy of peace and friend-

ship, strengthen solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos and develop co-operation and good-neighbourly relations with all the South-East Asian countries.

Y. Vasilkov

THE DARK NIGHT IS OVER

New Times, No. 4, 1979

The cities, towns and villages of Kampuchea are again glowing with the bright festive colours that were all but forgotten in the dark days of tyranny. Red flags with five golden towers—the symbol of Angkor Wat, the ancient Khmer temple—are to be seen everywhere. “We wholeheartedly support the Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Council!” and “Long Live the People’s Republic of Kampuchea!” are painted on house walls and on streamers stretched across the streets.

The mediaeval nightmare that had lasted for more than three and a half years is over.

It is amazing how swiftly the events on the Kampuchean fronts developed, how quickly—and virtually without offering any resistance—the dictatorial regime nurtured by Peking crumbled. Under the blows of the insurgent people, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime collapsed like a house of cards. It had so discredited itself by its brutality, vandalism and massacres, and become so odious at home and abroad, that when the hour of retribution came, nothing could save it.

The success of the nation-wide uprising was precipitated by the declaration of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation the provisions of which accorded with the aspirations of the Kampuchean people. It was thanks to the appeal of the Front’s political programme that town after town and village after village was liberated without a single shot being fired. Whole units of Pol Pot soldiers, with Front leaflets in their hands, went over to the side of the patriots. The Kampuchean’s hatred of the bloody dictators was so great that officers of the Pnom Penh army surrendered and begged the Revolutionary Armed Forces to save them from the people’s wrath.

Reporting on the first days of freedom, the Kampuchean Information Agency (SPK) told of the people's suffering in the recent tragic past. A young soldier from a self-defence unit said the Pol Pot cutthroats had killed his father, mother, brothers and sisters. A peasant woman, her face deeply lined though she is far from old, saw the Pnom Penh bandits toss her children into the air and catch them on their bayonets. A 75-year-old woman and a five-year-old child were the sole survivors from one village; all the others had been tied together with a rope, marched out of the village and clubbed to death.

A great many such barbaric acts, which had become a system with the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique could be presented. Here are some chilling figures by way of illustration. In the five war years (1970-75), Kampuchea lost 600,000 people but, according to the world press, in the three and a half years of "peaceful" rule by the regime, about three million people died or were killed. Such was the terrible price paid by the people for the dark night of the Chinese "cultural revolution" on Kampuchean soil. In Kampuchea, the inhuman Maoist experiment assumed even more monstrous forms than in China, perhaps because here Chinese "advisers" did not have to be fastidious about the choice of means.

From the very outset, the Pol Pot regime's socio-economic policy also bore the imprint of mediaeval barbarism. Virtually the entire urban population was forcibly resettled in the countryside where, together with the peasants, they formed Chinese-style "agricultural communes". It soon became obvious, however, that these communes were actually concentration camps. Personal belongings, including household utensils, were "socialised" along with private property. Educational institutions, cinemas and television were closed, and only one news bulletin was published for the whole country. The people were completely cut off from the outside world, except for regular radio reports about "how wonderful it is now in great China".

In short, the world public was presented with a Peking model of political organisation of society based on the whole-

sale extermination of people, a society totally without elementary human rights, a society in which social and economic experiments were taken to absurd extremes. Needless to say, the people would never consent to tolerate such a "model" for long. An explosion was inevitable, and eventually it came. The wave of popular wrath took only a few days to sweep out the hated gang of usurpers.

The tragedy of Kampuchea is a stern warning to all those who still harbour illusions about the nature and the true aims of Peking's political doctrines and activities abroad. In Kampuchea, the Chinese leaders showed themselves up as neocolonialists and reactionaries. Their actions pose a serious danger to the people's struggle for national and social liberation, especially since, as the Kampuchean experience shows, their deeds were committed under the banner of socialism, thereby discrediting this progressive socio-political system in the eyes of millions of people. This is something Communists and all those fighting for democracy and social progress must never forget.

Luckily for Kampuchea, the tragedy is over. As stated in the Front's declaration and laid down by the People's Revolutionary Council, genuine people's government is being established in the country, steps taken to democratise all spheres of society, and the anti-national laws of the overthrown regime abrogated. The system of disguised concentration camps has already been abolished and people have been assisted in returning home. Discrimination and division of the population into "pure" and "impure" have been forbidden. The authorities have proclaimed freedom of religion and respect for Buddhism and other religions. Equality for women is guaranteed, elementary schools are being re-opened and active steps taken to provide the population with foodstuffs and other necessities. Revolutionary reforms in town and country are to be carried out by people's self-administration committees that are being set up everywhere and enjoy the people's confidence and friendly support.

The liberation of Kampuchea has, at long last, enabled it to begin pursuing a positive foreign policy and working with other peace-loving nations for peace, international

security and co-operation. Under the previous regime the country was made to act as trouble-maker in South-East Asia for intimidating anyone who sympathised with the struggle waged by the peoples of Indochina for independence and freedom or urged good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with them. There was perhaps a certain logic in this, considering that the Pol Pot regime made the fratricidal border war against Vietnam the main thrust of its foreign policy. It did not, however, confine itself to this aggressive act alone. Its constant armed provocations also created a tense situation on the country's borders with Thailand and Laos.

The Chinese leaders obviously regarded the Pnom Penh clique as a convenient instrument for realising their great-power, expansionist plans at the expense of the South-East Asian nations.

The collapse of the anti-national clique has radically changed the situation in the region. The People's Revolutionary Council has declared that, together with the people, it will strive to put an immediate end to provocations and border wars and to restore good-neighbourly, friendly relations with Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and other South-East Asian countries. The new Kampuchea will base its relations with other countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, will strengthen solidarity with the socialist countries, newly-independent states and national liberation movements, and help consolidate the non-aligned movement.

The joy at Kampuchea's liberation is consequently shared by all peace-loving nations that build their relations on the principles of peace, co-operation and mutual respect. The calm, realistic reaction of the South-East Asian countries to the changes in Kampuchea testifies to their belief that this country and its new leaders will play a positive role in the region and in the world.

Yet, however complete the patriots' victory may be, their trials are not over. This is evidenced, for instance, by the fuss raised by the enemies of peace and freedom. The Chinese press provocatively writes that the leaders of the former regime intend to wage a protracted guerrilla war and that China will support it in every way. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who

had been under house arrest in the days of the Pol Pot regime, was unexpectedly brought back into the limelight and forced to attack the new government. He in fact admitted as much at a press conference in Peking. Lastly, the enemies of Kampuchea made a wholly unjustified attempt to interfere in its affairs by asking the UN Security Council to meet and discuss the slanderous complaints by the former Pnom Penh rulers.

The unobjective stand taken by the Security Council on the Kampuchea issue can only be detrimental to its prestige all over the world, reads a statement by the Foreign Ministry of People's Republic of Kampuchea, released by the Kampuchean Information Agency. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council has already informed the Chairman of the Security Council that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime was overthrown by the people of Kampuchea and no longer exists. The Foreign Ministry has stated that the People's Revolutionary Council is the sole lawful representative of the Kampuchean people and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang has no right to speak on behalf of Kampuchea at any forum.

Outside attempts to exacerbate the situation in Kampuchea and create an unfavourable climate for it in the world are doomed to failure. What happened in Kampuchea was inevitable and irreversible.... Pol Pot and his accomplices were overthrown by their own people for the vile crimes they committed against them.

Together with all progressive people, those of the Soviet Union welcome the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin stressed in their congratulatory telegram to Heng Samrin, Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council and Chairman of the KUFNS Central Committee, will continue to develop and strengthen its traditional bonds of friendship and co-operation with Kampuchea and support the Kampuchean people's efforts to build a peaceful, independent, democratic and non-aligned Kampuchea advancing towards socialism.

Izvestia, January 23, 1979

Pnom Penh is gradually beginning to come to life. People who had hidden from the terror of Pol Pot's soldiers have finally emerged. For weeks many of them had not seen the light of day; feeding themselves on stores of beans, they somehow managed to avoid reprisals and stay alive.

One woman, tears streaming down her cheeks, said that she no longer remembered how long she had spent in basements on the outskirts of Pnom Penh. Her entire family had been killed but she had managed to escape. This was apparently in late November.

"She must have spent more than a month underground," said a soldier of the patriotic army who accidentally came across her.

The woman was afraid to open her eyes as she might be blinded by the daylight. Despite the tropical heat, her body was trembling violently. The fear resulting from what she had seen in Pnom Penh over the past few years had not subsided. How hard it was for her even to imagine that the long awaited liberation had finally come. But it was no dream. It was complete deliverance.

The survivors in Pnom Penh were virtual skeletons, just skin and bones, like those who survived the nazi death camps.

Every day in various districts of Pnom Penh the freedom fighters are discovering more and more evidence of the horrible crimes committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. Dozens of corpses bound in chains were found in one of the capital's former schools, right in the centre of the town. I have old photographs of this school, called Tuolsleng, showing hundreds of children. It is hard to imagine that it was in this building that the prison guards of Pol Pot subjected people to monstrous mediaeval tortures. The soldiers who came to the halls of this former school in the first hours after liberation found prison cells and numerous corpses. Prisoners were maimed beyond recognition; many of them had their hands tied behind their back with barbed wire.

All were naked. The putrid smell of human flesh still hangs in the air.

Mankind will never forget the Pol Pot clique's crimes. American GI army shovels and Chinese picks were used in this former school, which served the pro-Maoist regime as a prison and interrogation centre. Ditches were found outside in which the prisoners from Pol Pot's torture chambers were covered with lime and buried.

The barbarous crimes of the puppet regime incurred the wrath of the Kampuchean people. Remnants of the Pol Pot gang are still being caught in the region of the Kardamom Range. After committing such vile crimes, the cutthroats and their accomplices are still trying to escape retribution. Their actions only increase their guilt before the popular government, which has given all its enemies an opportunity to lay down their weapons and come forward. Guided by humanitarian principles, it has promised them inviolability if they surrender of their own accord.

Despite the tremendous difficulties, long-suffering Kampuchea is beginning to rebuild a peaceful life. Pnom Penh's Pochentong Airport has been cleared. The red banner with the five golden towers now flies over it, symbolising the civilisation of Angkor Wat. The patriots' flags also top Cham Karmon Palace, the central municipal market and the polytechnical institute.

Life is returning to normal in the provinces as well. A few days ago Chea Sim, Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, visited Kampong Cham, a town to the northeast of Pnom Penh. The inhabitants informed him that most families had already returned from the concentration camps to their native villages. Some 285 self-administration committees have been set up in populated areas. Mutual assistance production groups are being formed in rural areas. The peasants are going back to the fields. The free labour, that has replaced the more than three years of forced labour under the supervision of the Pol Pot secret police, is imbuing the peasants with confidence in the national government and is filling them with enthusiasm.

The country's rubber plantations, which had been severely damaged, have now come back to life. I might add that, prior to 1970, approximately 20,000 people were employed in Kampuchea's rubber industry, which accounted for 40 per cent of the nation's exports. The rubber plantations, concentrated primarily in the Chup district, were subjected to napalm bombing raids by the American aggressors.

On Peking's instructions, in April 1975 the Pol Pot regime began barbarously exploiting what remained of the plantations. The workers were kept under guard and lived in inhuman conditions. In the Chup district, for example, the Pol Pot regime created 17 so-called labour villages, whose inhabitants worked an average of 14-15 hours daily, without any days off. They lived in barracks and were fed only two cans of rice skilly a day. The so-called Chinese advisers and experts, who lived near the plantations in comfortable villas, saw to it that all the fruits of this slave labour were shipped to China.

During its stay in power, at the prompting of the Chinese advisers, the Pol Pot regime, exterminated an average of 400 to 500 persons in each of the villages of the Chup district. In villages under the code numbers of 14, 18, 36, and 48 every second plantation worker was killed. A common grave for 300 persons was discovered in village No. 46.

In April and May 1978, over two thousand workers took up arms against the pro-Maoist clique. It was with tears of joy that the plantation workers met the revolutionary army units who freed them from enslavement and oppression. They managed to prevent the Maoists from destroying the Chup latex-processing plant. A people's committee has already been set up here and it has begun to run this rich region of the country. Soon new rubber-bearing plants will grow here—the sprouts of a new life in the much-suffering land of the Khmers.

New Times, No. 5, 1979

Commentators the world over are now reviewing the developments in Kampuchea, voicing varying views as regards their character, and making contradictory forecasts as to the impact these revolutionary events will have on the situation in South-East Asia and the whole world.

The more objective political observers regard the lightning operation that culminated in the Kampuchean patriots' brilliant victory as the result of the sharp aggravation of the internal contradictions by the genocidal Pol Pot regime. It mainly involved large-scale uprisings and protest actions by the oppressed and downtrodden population, merging in a great revolutionary upheaval.

First of all, it is self-evident that the former Pnom Penh leaders, who sought to turn the country into a stronghold of Maoism outside China, suffered a shattering defeat. The Kampuchean experiment not only discredited the Pol Pot clique, but was a blow to Maoism as such, demonstrating its bankruptcy and revealing the utter falsity and sheer adventurism of the Chinese "road to socialism".

The tragedy of Kampuchea under Pol Pot will unquestionably have a sobering effect on those political forces in the developing countries that still entertain illusions as regards the Chinese experience, and the internal and foreign policy of the Peking leaders.

A conclusion of no less import that can be drawn from the Kampuchean events is that the resounding victory of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, which rallies all the national patriotic forces of the country, opened the way to the building of socialism in Kampuchea on a scientific basis.

The total collapse of the pro-Maoist clique that had entrenched itself in Pnom Penh once again confirmed that, today, people cannot be driven into barrack-room communes, deprived of all rights and human dignity, and turned into a herd of obedient animals of burden. The Kampuchean people who, in spite of the terror and repression, rose to

overthrow the bloody tyranny, are entitled to count on the support and solidarity of progressives the world over, and of all peace-loving nations.

Consequently, the moral and political support given by other countries to the long-suffering Kampuchean people is a dictate of justice and humanity, the performance by these countries of their internationalist duty to a nation overtaken by misfortune. Moreover, this support accords with the UN Charter and the norms of international law. The slander campaign mounted by Peking and the imperialist powers against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and other countries has, therefore, misfired. It merely exposes those who imposed the bloody regime on the Kampuchean people and are now making desperate efforts to whitewash it and have the peoples of the world forget the millions of human lives on the conscience of the overthrown Kampuchean butchers and their foreign backers.

After toppling the fascist tyrants, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council made its intentions clear in a programme for building a new society. This set out the realistic, scientifically substantiated aims and tasks of the Kampuchean revolution, defining the ways and means for the socialist reconstruction of the country, and outlining the basic objectives of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, geared to building friendship and co-operation with all countries and peoples and establishing lasting peace and security in Asia.

The Kampuchean patriots' victory introduced far-reaching changes on the South-East Asian political scene, had a salutary effect on the situation in the region, and improved the conditions for strengthening peace and international co-operation. The peoples of Asia, and not only of Asia, welcome the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, seeing it as a new opportunity for building good-neighbourly relations, trust and mutual understanding among the countries of the region on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

One cannot but agree with Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the parliamentary group of the Communist Party of India, who

said that "the victory of the patriots of Kampuchea is a positive factor for peace and stability in South-East Asia." The same view was also voiced by the Japanese *Akahata*, which stressed that the orientation of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation on genuine independence, non-alignment, neutrality and friendship with all countries constituted a "contribution to friendship and peace among the peoples of the Asian countries".

Contrary to the expectations of Peking and Washington that the victory of the Kampuchean rebels would cause alarm and even panic in neighbouring South-East Asian countries, especially members of ASEAN, nothing of the kind has actually happened. Nearly all the countries of Asia took a calm view of the change of power in Pnom Penh. Moreover, they have assessed the collapse of the pro-Peking Pol Pot regime which abetted Chinese expansionism in South-East Asia, as a factor providing new opportunities for stepping up the struggle against Maoist subversive activities in the region.

The government of Thailand, for instance, despite the heavy pressure brought to bear on it by Washington and Peking, declared that it would not allow foreign powers to use the country's territory for interfering in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Thai ruling quarters were particularly disquieted by Norodom Sihanouk's assumption of the shameful role of advocate for the Pol Pot regime in the United Nations. Sihanouk's statement that the former Pnom Penh rulers proposed to organise a guerrilla movement and expected Peking to supply the enemies of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with everything they needed through the territory of Thailand was strongly criticised by the Thai government as a provocative move designed to aggravate relations between Bangkok and its neighbours in Indochina.

A similar stand was taken by the ruling quarters of Indonesia, which know from experience the danger posed by Chinese interference into the independence and sovereignty of their country. It is no accident, therefore, that the Indonesian delegate, the prominent public leader and statesman

Dr. Abdulgani, took an active part in the Seventh Session of the Presidential Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation held in Hanoi and endorsed the message sent to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim asking for full support for the People's Revolutionary Council.

The Philippines and Malaysia, which are also members of ASEAN, likewise spoke up for a neutral attitude to the events in Kampuchea and expressed their readiness to help normalise the situation in the country and the surrounding region.

Once the Pol Pot regime was overthrown, the situation on the Indochina Peninsula gradually began to stabilise. A radical change has taken place on the Vietnam-Kampuchea frontier, where Peking and its Pnom Penh stooges sought to whip up tension for years. As the Manifesto of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council points out, "our glorious victory put an end to the unjust war unleashed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique at the instigation and with the support of a foreign state, a war that was waged contrary to our national interests and undermined the traditional friendship between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples".

Political analysts in many countries concede that the Kampuchean events are irreversible. Peking alone, with the support of Washington, is trying to prevent the consolidation of Kampuchea's new people's revolutionary governing bodies and the further normalisation of the situation on the Indochina Peninsula. The Chinese leaders are engineering provocations against Vietnam and Kampuchea, concentrating troops on the Vietnamese-Chinese border, sending large military forces on incursions into Vietnam, and killing civilians.

The Peking leaders are doing their utmost to slander the foreign policy of Vietnam and accusing it of interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and being involved in the overthrow of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. The Chinese chauvinists pinned their hopes, in particular, on the UN Security Council imposing against Vietnam the sanction on which they so stubbornly insisted. Yet all their efforts were in vain.

The US Administration, too, has found itself in an unenviable position. It is not so long ago that President Carter said the Pol Pot regime was guilty of the worst violations of human rights in the world. Yet in the Security Council, Washington came to the defence of the regime, thereby demonstrating to the whole world the true worth of its hypocritical "defence of human rights" campaign, that it is a selective campaign designed as an instrument for interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and other states with regimes that do not suit the US monopolies.

The People's Revolutionary Council, a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea says, heartily welcomes the stand taken by the USSR in the Security Council. In order to protect Kampuchea against possible imperialist and hegemonistic interference in its internal affairs, the Soviet Union voted against the draft resolution submitted by certain delegations. The Soviet stand fully accords with the UN Charter, the Foreign Ministry statement says.

Following the failure of their intrigues in the Security Council, in order to frighten the Asian peoples, the Chinese leaders and their overseas backers resurrected the notorious "domino theory", according to which Thailand, then Malaysia and Singapore, and after them the Philippines and Indonesia would become victims of a "communist conspiracy". The countries of Asia do not believe this fabrication, however, and are quite aware that the danger to them emanates from the imperialist monopolies and from Peking, which is hatching far-reaching plans for establishing its domination over the peoples of this vast region. The fact that Peking was given a resolute rebuff in both Vietnam and Kampuchea, far from causing concern in other Asian countries, actually gives them confidence that Chinese expansion can be stopped by the joint efforts of all the continent's countries.

The Maoist provocations are powerless to prevent the people of Kampuchea from forging ahead in the direction they have chosen. Life in the country is returning to normal. The People's Revolutionary Council has annulled the draconic

laws and ordinances of the defunct Pol Pot regime. Throughout liberated Kampuchea local authorities in the form of people's self-administration committees made of workers, peasants and intellectuals are being set up. Things are being put in order in the capital, and the electric power and communications systems and other public utilities are being restored.

The people of Kampuchea are determined to uphold the gains of the revolution and to repair the damage done to the country by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of traitors as soon as possible. No internal or external forces will be able to divert these heroic people from their chosen course of building an independent, neutral, democratic Kampuchea moving towards socialism.

The Soviet Union stands solidly on the side of the just cause of the Kampuchean people. A telegram sent by Heng Samrin, Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council and of the Central Committee of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, in reply to a message from the Soviet leaders points out that the powerful support of the Soviet Union is a source of strength and inspiration for the Kampuchean people on their chosen course.

V. Skvortsov IN PNOM PENH TODAY

New Times, No. 7, 1979

The weary interpreter hastily jotted down something in Khmer writing in his notebook. The light breeze coming in through the windows that opened onto Hanoi's Ba Dinh Square fluttered the paper badge of a participant in the session of the Presidential Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation. In the lobbies of the Congress Palace, where the AAPSO was meeting, Roh Samay, General Secretary of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation and head of the country's delegation, was holding a press conference.

"I joined the liberation movement in February 1950, becoming a liaison agent in a guerrilla unit fighting against

the French colonialists," he related. "After Kampuchea became independent in 1953, I continued my revolutionary activities. When the Front was organised in early December 1978, I joined it and was subsequently elected General Secretary of its Central Committee."

"Where is your family now?" one of the newsmen inquired.

For several moments Roh Samay stared at the vase of asters standing on the coffee table before him.

"There were five of us in my family, but I had no idea what had happened to the others right up to January 7, when Pnom Penh and the whole country overthrew the dictatorship. I was then told that they had all perished."

They were only a few of the three million Kampuchean put to death by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the three and a half years of its rule. Such was the result of this experiment in "radical social revolution" and the "purging of society" staged in this country of eight million. Yet there is much that goes far beyond plain figures.

Several days before I met Roh Samay, I visited a refugee camp in the Vietnamese province of Tay Ninh deep in the jungle close to the Kampuchean border. Women, old people, children and emaciated men crowded around carts heaped high with sacks of rice and waited for the elected committee to start handing out the food. One of the camp militants, 35-year-old Sen Mot, who had once worked on a rubber plantation near Kampong Cham, told me the chilling story of the massacre of Kosphot's 2,111 inhabitants. Herded into several barns, they were machine-gunned for refusing to part with their children, for refusing to dwell in a communal hut and refusing to marry as the authorities prescribed. Only nine people survived the inferno, and only one of these, Sen Mot, managed to evade the punitive cordons and reach the Vietnamese border.

"Have you any idea who ruled the country? Do you know who Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are?" I asked a young Khmer woman by the name of Ton Yon.

"No, I don't know who you are talking about," she said. "But I do know who cut off the hair of our women and who killed my husband before my eyes and tried to take my child-

ren away from me. In the Koki community where I lived, which is near Pnom Penh, the people who ran things were Tan Sung, Samta Lok and Tap Ho, and they came from an outfit they called the Angka Loeu. Are those the men you mean?"

"Ordinary people were chased out into the fields and made to carry gaudy portraits of Pol Pot, without anyone even bothering to tell them who he was," Hok Vase, a former teacher from the Pnom Penh Descartes school interjected. "Here in this refugee camp there are more than 800 children of school age whom I have only just begun teaching how to read and write, though some of them are already 14 years old."

The sight of all those angry faces explained why the dictatorship that had implanted a new type of slavery, collapsed in the space of a few weeks, even though it enjoyed Peking's massive military, economic, political and moral backing. Anger and outrage caused thousands of peasants, workers, intellectuals and even representatives of the national bourgeoisie to rise up in movement that swept the country as rapidly as the Tonle Thom, as the Mekong River is called in Kampuchea, bursts its banks during the spring floods.

"In just three years," Roh Samay told newsmen, "my country was completely wrecked. You want to know how the revolutionary army was welcomed in Pnom Penh? There was no one to welcome it; the capital was empty."

We saw that with our own eyes when we visited Pnom Penh several days later.

DESOLATION

The 400-odd streets and lanes of Kampuchea's capital, bounded by marshy lowlands where the Tonle Sap and Bassac rivers flow into the two branches of the Mekong, were deserted. At Pochentong Airport we boarded a bus and spent several hours driving around Pnom Penh's 50 square kilometres. We saw modern office buildings, villas and cottages

nestling amidst lush banana trees and coconut palms, but not a soul was in sight.

Such was the scene that met the liberating forces. The revolutionary army's first column broke into Pnom Penh from the south along Highway No. 1, across the still standing Monivong Bridge spanning the Bassac River. Advance scout units marched without let-up or hindrance down the arrow-straight central avenue that transects Pnom Penh from north to south. Some of these units subsequently turned east along the thoroughfare leading out of the capital towards Pochentong International Airport and occupied the building of the former Chinese embassy en route. Heaps of ashes from hastily burned papers cluttered the trim lawns in front of the building, surprisingly reminiscent of the former US embassy in Saigon. Behind the anti-grenade railings, the thick window-panes of this three-storey building gleamed dully. It was over this rectangular cube which stands, incidentally, in the street named after Mao Zedong, that Kampuchean patriots first hoisted in Pnom Penh the scarlet banner emblazoned with the five golden towers of Angkor Wat.

It was in the Chinese embassy's luxuriously carpeted "green room", with its porcelain vases and painted silk screens, that Hang Sarin, commander of the 1st Division of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and chairman of Pnom Penh's Military Administrative Committee, received the first group of foreign newsmen to visit the Kampuchean capital since its liberation. Pnom Penh's new mayor wore a light-green tunic with sleeves rolled up above the elbows and no insignia of any kind—the men of the people's army still wear all sorts of uniforms—and his forage cap was tilted back. Waiting for the cameras to cease their clicking, he said:

"It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, comrades, to this liberated city. I apologise for having to receive you here in this building, but it is virtually the only one in Pnom Penh where one can see visitors. In the past three and a half years, the city's inhabitants have all either been killed or deported to remote provinces to the so-called 'cooperatives'. Considering the present transport situation, it will take some time to bring them back. No more than about 200 or 300 people

live here today, mostly power plant and waterworks personnel who had hidden in the suburbs and who have been able to get part of the damaged utilities going again. Yet it is still a tough job living here."

"Does the Military Administrative Committee have any plans for bringing Pnom Penh's life back to normal?" asked.

"We do have a general plan," Hang Sarin said. "We shall start by providing everything necessary to bring the population back, and when they do return we shall reopen the schools and hospitals, start the factories and small enterprises, and get the shops working once again. For even such simple things as pots and cups have become a problem since the 'communalisation of utensils' by the Pol Pot regime. It is no exaggeration to say that we will have to infuse life back into this dead city."

It is, indeed, a dead city. In the neighbourhood of the huge semi-circle described by Khemarak-Phoumin Street, the longest in Pnom Penh, the liberating forces discovered thousands of corpses chained to iron rings cemented into the floor or to iron beds, tables and water pipes. Crushed and mangled bodies were found in hotels, on the field of the Olympic stadium, in homes, and even in schools, where the classrooms had been divided by brick partitions into hundreds of solitary confinement cells. In the centre of town, in the deserted square in front of a petrol station by the terraced building of Pnom Penh's central market, I noticed the remains of burnt bodies.

In the buildings of the Tuolsleng school, which the Pol Pot regime had converted into the central political prison, the stench of dead bodies was overpowering. In the former staff room, I was shown iron filing cases with cards giving the names and backgrounds of thousands of murdered people. Heaped on the floor were piles of file cards with photographs taken in profile and in full face; they also gave the name, number and date of imprisonment. Indexed as No. 665 was a 14-year-old boy who had entered this "school" on June 28, 1978. It was impossible to identify the mutilated corpses found in the Tuolsleng school.

"Such was the last fight put up by the Pol Pot soldiers in Pnom Penh," our guide Dzu Po of the 1st Division H.Q. said. "They vented their fury on these defenceless, manacled prisoners, too scared to put up a fight against our armed forces. On the very eve of our arrival, nearly all of them, including the Peking 'cultural revolution experts', ran away. We took the capital without meeting any resistance."

SMILING THROUGH TEARS

True enough, there was no fighting in Pnom Penh itself, but on Monivong Avenue, formerly Mao Zedong Avenue, the boulevard recently renamed Soviet Union Boulevard, as it was before, and on some sidestreets there are houses with charred, empty window frames and with bullet-dented walls. The agents left behind by the Pol Pot regime fought back till January 11, setting fire to houses and sniping at men of the revolutionary army. Yet this failed to provide any grounds for the propaganda ballyhoo about some mythical "resistance". It is absolutely quiet today in Pnom Penh, which has no greater number of patrols than any city, even where life is peaceful. True, it is impossible to get used to the desolation, to the heart-rending silence, the absence of sparrows and other town birds.

Empty, too, is the palace of audiences, as well as the royal palace with its traditional Khmer 60-metre tower above the throne room. Also deserted is the area near the Buddhist temple, which towers 27 metres on top of Mount Penh where, legend has it, the city began and where children loved to play amidst the old trees and ancient monuments. In the shopping rows, fallen leaves, bank notes "abolished" in 1975 and innumerable pictures of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are whirled by the wind amidst the counters, chairs, fridges and cardboard boxes cluttering the roadway. Here and there in the gardens one sees women clad in black sarongs cooking food over fires, using these "pictures" for fuel.

The people who began to return to Pnom Penh after January 20 wear a small paper badge to say they are locals.

Three emaciated men from a place near Battambang explained that, to begin with, they hoped to find some shirts and trousers, as they had nothing to wear but makeshift garments of burlap.

"What are you going to do then?" I asked.

"Then we'll live here," one said. "My name is Prek Sia. Just take a look at the name of the street. It's the same as mine. In our neighbourhood streets used to be named after the person who gave the money to have it asphalted."

"Where are your families?"

"Who in Kampuchea today can answer such a question?" Prek Sia said. He smiled but his eyes were full of tears.

At the Pnom Hotel, where only a month ago the British scholar and newsman Caldwell was murdered for knowing too much about the bosses of the old regime, we conversed with Keo Chanda, a member of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, who is also the minister for information, press and culture. He said that what the new authorities now had to do was to gauge the scale of all the political, economic, social and cultural problems facing them. Not only Pnom Penh, Battambang, Siem Reap, Kompong Som and other cities, but also many smaller communities and villages were deserted. The first thing to be done was to get transport and the post operating again. It would take intensive efforts, funds and time to reunite families, bring hundreds of thousands of people back home and then set about restoring industry, agriculture and the health service.

"In our efforts to build a new life," the Minister said, "we shall follow the socialist road. We are going to organise a public sector in industry. Gradually, step by step, with an eye to the specific conditions and possibilities, we shall launch co-operative agriculture, to make it a highly productive, well-developed branch of the national economy. It stands to reason that we desperately need help from all our friends, and we are sure we will get it."

The foreign newsmen spent only a few days in liberated Pnom Penh, but in that short time they covered considerable ground, met and talked with many people. Flying back to

Hanoi, we tried to sort out our impressions. The consensus of opinion was that the people of Kampuchea were optimistic, convinced that the road along which their ancient land was taking its first steps towards renewal was the right one.

Do Kuang

ENCOUNTERS WITH PEOPLE RETURNING TO PNOM PENH

Nhan Dan, February 3, 1979

It Kimseng, a doctor and head of the department of hygiene, was an assistant to the minister of public health in the governments before Pol Pot came to power. He taught in a medical institute in Pnom Penh until April 17, 1975, when he, along with more than two million other residents, was moved out of the capital by the reactionary Pol Pot clique. He knows English and French fluently, is a good driver, has been to England, France and Canada. . . . It is inconceivable that such a person could look so despirited after three-odd years of life in a "commune" set up by the Pol Pot regime. He was emaciated, with a darkened skin, like a walking skeleton. There was a dull, lacklustre look in his eyes and his shoulders protruded from under dark patched, baggy overalls. It Sunnara, his son, looks even more piteous—like a feeble old man at his twenty-odd years, a jaundiced face, dried up arms and legs.

Once they heard that the city had been liberated, the father and son headed out barefooted and bareheaded from Takeo to Pnom Penh. When they were too exhausted to continue their journey, a vehicle belonging to the national revolutionary committee brought them to No. 265 on Tep Phon Street, where they had lived earlier. A dilapidated building, entangled in lianas, the backyard overgrown with grass. . . . It Kimseng could see nothing familiar. Tears flowed down the father's and son's cheeks. It Kimseng recalled that, only two hours after they had taken the city, Pol Pot's men

announced by megaphone that all the inhabitants should leave the city and marched them out at bayonet and rifle-point. They gave them three choices as exits: Takeo, Kampot and Kampong Spy. In the panic, members of It Kimseng's family went off in different directions. His wife headed towards Kampot, and has not been heard of since. He and his son were hurried off to the "commune" in Takeo, but they lived and worked in different places. For all these years they had to hide the fact that they were a doctor and a medical student, for fear of death. In the camp where the father lived, intellectuals were exterminated when they were discovered; the pretext was that the society "of the new type" did not need an intellegentsia at all. With his own eyes he witnessed barbarous reprisals against students, teachers, doctors, engineers, technicians, journalists and even singers and dancers. Some fifty doctors whom It Kimseng knew or worked with in Pnom Penh were killed.

It Kimseng was put on the work crew planting vegetables and grazing cattle. It Sunnara was on the ploughing team and for a while grazed cattle like his father. For several hours they would talk about their horrible and degrading life in the "commune", which was, in effect, a labour camp. A ten-hour work day, even longer on moon-lit nights. A bowl of gruel for lunch. Skilly ten months a year and boiled rice only two. The authorities announced that clothes would be issued annually, but for over three years the father and son had nothing to wear but headcloths and faded, patched overalls.

It was impossible to live in their former house. How could one live in an empty building overgrown with grass? After walking sadly around their old home and recalling their former happy life there they were driven in a revolutionary administration car to another district where they were provided with temporary housing. Here there was lighting and the plumbing worked; they were given food. The personnel man responsible for this district calmed It Kimseng and It Sunnara down and advised them to rest here and get their strength back. Once all the buildings are back in order, the revolutionary administration will provide all the necessary

conditions and give the people help to return to their home and get their lives back to normal as soon as possible.

The revolution has a great deal of work to do after the liberation of Pnom Penh and the entire country, yet the capital's authorities are trying to provide food, clothing, medicines and housing to everyone returning from the labour camps. Like other families, It Kimseng and It Sunnara were issued food, footwear and medicine.

The Saryon family lives with them in a spacious house. The children are dressed in new, colourful clothing, and the mother is wearing a new dress too. She proudly states that these clothes were sewn from material issued by the revolutionary authorities only a few days after the family had returned to Pnom Penh. There was a sewing machine in the house, and since she knew how to sew, she immediately set to cutting patterns. After returning to her home town she was prepared to do any kind of work to contribute to rebuilding the capital.

The mother of the Saryon household laughs heartily: "This is the first time in over three years that I have laughed!" She says of the nightmares she lived through: "On the morning of April 17, 1975, my family went out for a stroll: today, after our return, there are only four of us left. My husband, daughter, son, son-in-law and eighteen-month-old grandson. . . . The Pol Pot gang smashed the heads of all of them or killed them some other way." The bodies of her husband and children were thrown into a ditch together with the corpses of 40 or 50 other people. In Takeo, in the area of the village of Long Ria of District 107, where many families who did forced labour are buried, there are several dozen such graves. Human bodies lie under only a thin layer of earth. There used to be 500-600 men in the village; since the reprisals by the authorities only three or four are left. After exterminating the men, the authorities started on the women. Before Takeo was liberated, all the town's women aged 18 to 30 were marched out to trucks and hauled off to another area, where they were raped and then killed. Saryon says: "There is no doubt, that the Pol Pot clique

betrayed its country and people and did its best to exterminate them."

Her voice comes to life when she talks about how the population of the "commune" and adjacent villages rose up, together with revolutionary army to fight for the liberation of Takeo. People asked for weapons, showed the soldiers roads, discovered traitors and supplied the fighting men with food and water. The population stood guard and helped to maintain security and public order. . . . When they learned that the Saryon family wanted to return to Pnom Penh, where they had lived before, the revolutionary authorities allocated a car to take them.

Life is returning to normal. Basins, pots, teapots, towels, footwear and clothing have appeared in every home. The kerchiefs so popular with Kampucheans have not been forgotten either.

The family nucleus of Kampuchean society is reforming.

Gerhard Leo

KAMPUCHEA'S ROAD TO A NEW LIFE

Neues Deutschland, February 17-18, 1979

Notes on a trip through the provinces of Swairieng and Preyveng

The entire population of Kampuchea seems to be on the road. Six weeks after the liberation, the survivors of the forced labour camps where they had been incarcerated by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers since 1975 are still on their way home by foot.

There is no other way for them to get home: all the railway lines are in disrepair, and bus transportation was done away with by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

FROM HELL BACK HOME

The liberation of the country and the programme of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation, which says that all may return to their native towns or villages, have

brought about a real resettlement of people, but this process is far from over.

I saw a constant stream of families moving along Highway No. 1. People often have to wait a long time for their turn to cross bridges, many of which have only one-way traffic. The flow of people in both directions is extremely heavy. Here and there there are wagons pulled by buffalo, piled with modest household possessions. Mostly the people themselves drag two-wheeled carts over the long distances; sometimes it takes families weeks to reach their destination.

The most wide-spread means of transport is the bicycle, with a large intricate back fashioned from boards and bamboo to carry sleeping mats made of bast, a sack of rice or manioc, and the single family cooking-pot, black with soot. The vehicle moves along on its rims, as the Pol Pot gendarmes cut all tyres to make it more difficult for the deported people to escape from the camps. From time to time, one can see low wagons, put together from any available materials. Serving as wheels are rusty automobile rims, flywheels from sewing machines, circular chunks of wood fashioned from logs and even small millstones connected by an axle. Pushing it ahead of them, the emancipated Kampucheans, mostly peasant families, are making their way home along the roads in all directions.

Their clothing consists of remnants of material slapped together. They are emaciated from the hunger that lasted years and from the forced labour imposed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique; they are exhausted from the long journey. They suffer under the burning rays of the tropical sun and have nothing to keep off the torrential rain. They do not know what to expect when they get home: house burnt to the ground? Wells poisoned? But they are hurrying home: married couples, children, elderly parents, some of them reaching for their last ounce of strength, but nonetheless happy to be rid of the tyranny, forced labour and wholesale killing.

FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE POPULAR GOVERNMENT

"I want to die by the graves of my ancestors," we were told by an old peasant, dressed only in a cotton shirt. He had been forced out of the province of Swairieng to Battambang. Of the nine members of his family, only five remained alive. The younger people talk about their paddy field, about the modest home they had been made to abandon, about their present hopes, about the start of a new life under a government that intends to serve the people.

In Neakluong, 65 miles southeast of Pnom Penh, the ferry that crosses the deep Mekong River has docked. The river crossing connects the western part of Kampuchea with the eastern. As the people disembark, the commander of the liberation forces in Neakluong, who is standing next to me, hands them small brochures with an appeal from the People's Revolutionary Council. There are not enough of them to go around, however. Those who did not receive one are assured that they will get one later. Many immediately read the message from the new government that emerged out of the resistance movement against the Pol Pot regime.

An officer guarding this important crossing with his men patiently answers the people's questions, and gives directions on how to get to their native villages, indicating which bridges had been rebuilt by the Revolutionary Armed Forces. "The people who are returning and who have already returned home are our friends and comrades-in-arms," he says. "On a number of occasions citizens have informed us about agents trying to hide in the flow of people returning. Everyone hates the cutthroats of the overturned regime." In Preyveng, 30 kilometres to the northwest, our group of journalists from socialist countries was received in the premises of the people's committee of the same province by key representatives of the new government. The flag of the People's Republic of Kampuchea hung at the front of the hall. Soldiers of the liberation army, armed with machine guns, formed a guard of honour for the guests, the first citizens from the fraternal countries who had come to the prov-

ince in the six weeks since liberation. Young girls, members of a youth organisation that is just taking shape, served us tea. People's Committee Chairman Sa Mon, Deputy Chairman Stang Chin, who is also responsible for administrative matters, and security chief Sa Rua spoke to us.

"If you take a look at our town," Sa Mon said, "you will see that everything was mercilessly destroyed by the Pol Pot gang: homes, rooms, furniture, workshops and even the few cars we had. We are trying to put everything back in order and find lodgings in neighbouring villages for returning people. Everything is in short supply. Our province, in which peaceful and upright people lived, was almost completely depopulated as a result of the deportation. The inhabitants of other outlying areas were forced into camps set up here. The Pol Pot regime turned our district into a huge concentration camp, into a common grave for many thousands of people. Schools and markets were closed; everyone, including pregnant women and children, had to work until they dropped. Any protest or attempt to escape was punished by torture, death and reprisals against all the members of one's family."

According to officials, forty per cent of the former population of Preyveng Province perished, yet this figure may prove conservative after further investigations in the next few days and weeks.

SHATTERING EVIDENCE AGAINST THE POL POT REGIME

"It is impossible to convey in words everything that happened," Sa Mon told us. His staff showed us the places where the horrors had taken place. The Pol Pot tyrants turned the province's main town into a mass concentration camp. We were taken to a big prison situated in the camp's former barns. Beams and columns were enmeshed in barbed wire. Dozens of chains were lying on the ground. Steel rods fastened to the walls had been drawn through them. Up to 30 prisoners chained in a single row had lain here on the bare earth.

Fifty metres away, right near the empty Dam Rai Pagoda,

from which all the statues of Buddha had been stolen, there was an execution square in which many thousands had met their death. We were shown common graves, from which the stench of human flesh still emanated. Skulls could be identified. The bones of hands were bound by barbed wire. But the most horrible thing of all was a clay urn filled with the bones and skulls of children. Anyone who showed any displeasure with the regime was punished by the authorities' slaughtering his whole family, even small children.

ONE OF THE BASTIONS OF RESISTANCE

How can this cruelty be explained? This wholesale extermination of the people can be compared to the crimes of the nazis, who were particularly cruel where the population offered any active resistance. In 1978, the centre of the movement against the Pol Pot dictatorship was moved to the so-called 203rd military zone consisting of the towns of Swaieng, Preyveng and Kampong Cham. This region includes what is known as the "duck's beak"—a strip of land stretching deep into Vietnamese territory. For many years, right up to 1975, liberation forces from Kampuchea and Vietnam fought in joint units against American intervention here, where the tradition of strong friendship with Vietnam is very much alive. When, in 1977, Pol Pot declared Vietnam a "damned enemy", when the many graves of Vietnamese who had perished in Kampuchea were publicly desecrated, when the border war against the SRV broke out, armed resistance was organised in the 203rd military zone. Whole battalions joined the fight against Pol Pot's headquarters.

The regime dispatched to Preyveng several regiments with orders to carry out repressions and punitive expeditions and to protect the camps. The collapse of the uprising culminated in the complete elimination of the 203rd military zone and in mass murders, the scope of which has yet to be definitively determined. The city of Preyveng itself, like almost all the other more or less large cities in the country, is still completely empty. There was garbage in the streets, abandoned

houses, and the water system, as we were to learn later, had been poisoned in the most loathsome manner. There was no water or electricity. It is thus clear why the cities that were totally evacuated by Pol Pot cannot be repopulated at present. First, problems pertaining to sanitary conditions and the fight against disease, as well as to public security have to be solved.

WITNESSES TO CRIMES CRUELLY MURDERED

The inhabitants of Preyveng returning from the eastern provinces are temporarily being sent to surrounding village communities where there are many empty houses. The authorities have not yet managed to open the schools. There are not enough teaching materials, as they were systematically burned by the old regime. "We are looking for teachers," the chairman related. "We have been able to find some, but the majority were killed."

In the centre of town we were brought to an enterprise that had been one of the most important in the country's weak industry, Preyveng's clothing factory. The more than 300 women who worked in the factory were kept like prisoners in a concentration camp. The minutest infraction of the inhuman work regime was punished by torture and death. Women were forced to work for the Pol Pot troops. Balls of yarn still lie strewn about in the yard. The last workers, about a hundred of them, were killed shortly before liberation. Perhaps the cutthroats wanted to get rid of any witnesses, as the SS did towards the end of World War II. The corpses of the women were flushed into the factory's sewage system. I saw the remains, and it was a sight that will haunt me for the rest of my life

The clothing factory in Preyveng is not the only example of the premeditated murder of workers whom Pol Pot evidently saw as a threat to his regime.

However hard this was for everyone we talked to in Preyveng, this horrible and so recent past, life is beginning anew in the neighbouring communities. The figures testify to this most of all.

THE FIRST WEDDINGS AFTER THE LIBERATION

Ka Huan, an elderly gentleman who is regarded in the district as an expert on government—under Sihanouk he was a district chairman—today is the chairman of the community committee in Takeo. "Our town, which consisted of several communities, had a population of 8,520; today there are 6,142 people living here," he says. Several weddings have been held since the liberation. These were extraordinary events for the population. You probably know that Pol Pot categorically forbade, under threat of severe punishment, marriages based on a free choice of spouses."

Some 240 families have already returned to the big village of Chiengteh, which is officially part of Takeo. The village had 3,000 inhabitants in 1975. Each returning family receives up to 40 kilograms of rice per person for the first six months, until the new harvest. The worst of the food situation is over. Mothers sit with their children in the shade outside their huts, some of which have been completely rebuilt. Joking and laughter can be heard almost like before. The horrors these people faced are a thing of the past. The difficulties of everyday life are starting. Many paddy fields are desolate. It is tough to start from scratch again.

In the province of Swairieng, the reconstruction of burnt houses in the settlements has also begun. People have returned home after tremendous suffering and irreparable losses. Their thoughts are once again on the future.

THE BROAD SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT IN VIETNAM

How heartily the newly-returned townspeople greeted the officers and men of the Revolutionary Armed Forces who were riding in a Jeep in front of our bus. These people felt, for the first time, that the government was not oppressing and exploiting the populace, but helping it.

In the main city of Swairieng Province, which is located

125 kilometres to the southeast of Pnom Penh, we talked to a representative of the new administration. He is 29-year-old Sisisak Khan, who was a student in Pnom Penh until 1975. Together with all the other residents of the capital, he had been deported to one of the work camps in the village. A few months later he managed to escape and cross the border into Vietnam, where he was received warmly. "My parents (his father was a craftsman) were killed in 1976, here in Swairieng, in our native village, by the Pol Pot cutthroats," Sisisak Khan told us. Right after the liberation he returned to his home town and was appointed to the town committee and made responsible for security.

"What does your job entail?" I asked him.

"At present, security involves, first of all, vigilance with respect to hidden enemies. We must safeguard the lives of the returning people, who arrive completely exhausted. We try to find accommodation for them on the outskirts of the city."

Sisisak Khan, the young police chief, is once again surrounded by arrivals. He explains where water can be obtained—the plumbing still does not work—and where rice can be procured for the next few weeks. Blankets are available, one for every four persons, and staple domestic items for families that lost everything they owned. Foodstuffs and other goods are being taken from the supplies of the former Pol Pot soldiers, but most of it comes from Vietnam. The SRV population has mounted a broad solidarity programme to help the fraternal Kampuchean people begin their new life.

**Ashis Barman MAOIST DOGMA WAS THE REASON
FOR THE FALL OF THE POL POT REGIME**

Patriot, New Delhi January 11, 1979

As a consequence of the liberation of the Kampuchean capital of Pnom Penh, the hated tyrannical regime of Pol Pot and his stooges met its downfall. Leadership of the victorious army and the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation was assumed by such prominent communist activists as

Heng Samrin, who became the country's chairman, Chea Sim, vice-president, and Roh Samay, General Secretary of the KUFNS Central Committee.

All these leaders took part in the Kampuchean people's long fight for independence. Waging an unyielding struggle against the French, and later international imperialism, they headed the first revolution in the country with such people as Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. The initial successes of the Kampuchean people in their struggle against imperialism coincided, however, with a fierce Maoist campaign in China, Kampuchea's strong and influential neighbour. The erroneous Maoist ideas affected some of the Kampuchean leaders who fought for independence and consisted mainly of nationalistically inclined peasants who were not well schooled in Marxism. This segment of the leadership, headed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, swallowed the Maoist propaganda, and under its influence, buckled under to strong pressure from Peking, hoping to use it in restoring the country's economy.

Since they were unable to apply Marxist principles correctly and creatively in tackling the country's socio-economic problems and pursued a chauvinistic policy, the part of the Kampuchean leadership headed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary became more and more alienated from the Kampuchean people and began carrying out repressions against the population. It attempted to entangle the popular masses in Maoist-type economic adventures, and dealt mercilessly with anyone within the party or the revolutionary army who disagreed with its methods. This exacerbated the contradictions between the ruling clique and the group of veteran Marxist leaders and revolutionary army commanders, among them Heng Samrin, Chea Sim and Roh Samay.

This split did not, however, lead to the automatic collapse of the Pol Pot regime; even the revolutionary leaders themselves did not come out against Premier Pol Pot as an individual, but against the senseless, anti-popular policy that he and his clique attempted to pursue under pressure from the Peking adventurists, which eventually had catastrophic consequences in Kampuchea.

For example, in accordance with the Maoist utopia concerning agricultural communes, based on a primitive organisation of labour and a backward economy, Pol Pot and his stooges tried to combine the Kampuchean peasantry forcibly into agricultural communes, taking away their right to hold private land. This policy was executed with extreme persistence and cruelty, despite fierce resistance from the peasants. Money and the domestic market were abolished as well.

All these policies evoked strong opposition from the broad Kampuchean population and also within the leadership itself. Sensing this, the ruling clique set out to physically eliminate its political opponents and began annihilating peasants in the villages and intellectuals in the cities. On the pretext of an "all-round radical social revolution", the Pol Pot regime followed the pattern of the Chinese "cultural revolution" by forcibly resettling hundreds of thousands of townspeople in the countryside, so that "they could learn from the popular masses". All this was done, of course, without providing the proper conditions in the countryside, which was completely unprepared to accommodate such an army of people.

Rural inhabitants also came in for extremely cruel repression, because of the policies of forced collectivisation and the abolition of money and the domestic market. As a result, in the towns and villages of Kampuchea active resistance mounted daily to the Pol Pot regime, which hastened its own downfall with its suicidal measures. Thousands of armed peasants joined the regiments of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army headed by Heng Samrin and began liberating districts that had been under the control of the Pol Pot administration one after another. The Chinese hegemonists and imperialists raised a clamour about intervention on the part of Vietnam. China even began supplying Pol Pot with weapons, but, all these armaments eventually wound up in the hands of the revolutionary United Front.

Thus the people of Kampuchea have won a fresh, glorious victory. The new Kampuchean leaders know that they still have many more difficulties to overcome, particularly the fierce hostility of the USA and China, which are expressing

their dissatisfaction over the recent developments. The United Front leaders are, however, confident of their strength, of the fact that they will be able to counter any direct Chinese interference, especially in view of the intensifying high-level power struggle in China itself.

THE REASONS FOR THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT IN KAMPUCHEA

Akahata, Tokyo, January 11, 1979

The establishment of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS) was announced on December 2, 1978; its task was to overthrow the rotten Pol Pot regime. Civil war in Kampuchea broke out on December 28. Just twelve days later, not only the capital Pnom Penh, but also virtually the entire country was at last free.

The liberation of the entire nation by the KUFNS was carried out at truly breakneck speed. Why was this possible?

The bourgeois press has often described the rapid KUFNS march in such statements as "The Vietnamese army was the main anti-government force", "The decisiveness and assistance of the Soviet Union influenced the outcome of events" and so on. In fact, this is far from the truth; the people who write such things had not even attempted a serious analysis of what was really happening.

A STERN REBUFF TO THE POLICY OF DISREGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS

The main cause of the Pol Pot regime's speedy downfall was its policy of cruelly suppressing human rights.

Soon after the regime was set up, literally hundreds of thousands of the country's people were executed without being charged with anything whatsoever; the inhabitants of Pnom Penh and other cities were forcibly resettled in the countryside and not allowed to take any possessions or household utensils with them. When they arrived, they were

compelled to live, eat and work in groups; families and married couples were separated.

For the purposes of brainwashing, adults were forced to do collective agricultural labour; adolescents of both sexes were put to work in factories. Trade and money were abolished, all essentials being centrally distributed. Such a policy is completely alien to scientific socialism and communism.

It was not from the "propaganda writings" of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation or from the Vietnamese side that these facts were gleaned. They are dealt with in detail in a report by the United Nations, certain governments and international organisations in accordance with a decision taken by the UN Human Rights Commission on March 8, 1978. US President J. Carter and other people who usually trumpet on about "human rights" now prefer to be non-committal about the trampling of human rights by the Pol Pot regime. Unthinkable but true!

The KUFNS Programme published on December 2, 1978 proclaims not only an independent economic policy geared to building socialism in the country and a course aimed at settling conflicts with neighbouring states on the basis of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, but also the freedom of place of residence and of travel, the freedom to set up organisations, freedom of religion, to restore family life, the dissolving of forced marriages, the freedom to choose one's own spouse and other basic demands.

In the eight point minimum programme that was published immediately following the liberation of Pnom Penh, the main part gives concrete official commitments primarily concerning respect for human rights.

The demands enumerated above must be seen as a reflection of the actual situation in the country as it stands, characterised by a wide and active protest voiced by all sections of the Kampuchean population against the reckless anti-democratic policies of the Pol Pot regime.

**THE TROOP UPRISING AGAINST THE REGIME.
THE REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY POTENTIAL
OF THE ARMED FORCES STILL LOYAL TO THE
REGIME**

The second reason for the fall of the Pol Pot regime is the action taken against it by its own army—the so-called Kampuchean Armed Forces.

The leadership of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation includes people from all sections of society, among them a large number of military leaders, probably as a result of the course that has been followed by the liberation struggle in Cambodia.

Since 1976, KUFNS Central Committee Chairman Heng Samrin has been commander of the Fourth Division, as well as assistant head of a military district; in May 1978, he assumed command of the anti-government forces. Roh Samay, General Secretary of the KUFNS Central Committee, was assistant commander of a military unit. Many other KUFNS leaders had also previously held top military posts. This shows that commanders were accompanied by their units and divisions in their opposition to the Pol Pot regime. When the KUFNS was formed, a large part of the Kampuchean Armed Forces (as the troops of the Pol Pot regime were called) were already under the command of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation.

It is in no way surprising that the Pol Pot regime's inhuman policy of suppressing people's rights won many soldiers and commanders, supposed to represent the Kampuchean Armed Forces, over to the side of the anti-government forces.

No reports about developments in Kampuchea mention anything resembling resistance offered by the Pol Pot forces during the civil war, which testifies that the Pol Pot regime had lost its ability to control its troops.

Third, the Pol Pot regime considerably undermined the fighting efficiency of its armed forces by engaging in frequent border clashes with Vietnamese troops.

On December 31, 1977, Kampuchea suddenly condemned Vietnam as an "aggressor" and announced that it had broken

off relations with the country. Simultaneously, Kampuchea rejected Vietnam's proposals that the border conflicts be settled by negotiation and began exacerbating these conflicts. During the armed border clashes caused by the actions of the Pol Pot regime, a serious blow was dealt to the regime itself.

No other approach to analysing the events in Kampuchea explains their rapid development. The barbarous domestic and foreign policies of the Pol Pot regime, which had lost its independence, themselves engendered the conditions for and actually hastened the debacle.

The civil war ended in complete victory for the KUFNS; the appointment of the heads of the new revolutionary government and their functions has been announced. Today even bourgeois newspapers are writing about the "impossibility of returning to the past" and the "lack of any future for the Pol Pot forces".

The domestic and foreign policies of the new Kampuchean government will stabilise and develop life in Kampuchea. On the international scene, the course aimed at non-alignment, neutrality, good-neighbourliness and friendship will be an important contribution to fostering peace in Indochina and throughout Asia.

Y. Vasilkov

THE COUNTRY STARTS TO BUILD

Good tidings are now coming from long-suffering Kampuchea. The country is gradually healing the deep wounds inflicted on it during the years of the reactionary pro-Peking regime. The revolutionary government is maintaining strict control of the situation in the republic. The people are participating enthusiastically in the current measures to obliterate the grim legacy of the past, to rebuild the cities, plants and transportation, and to tackle the nation's serious economic problems.

A national conference of the country's administrators was held on March 14, 1979 in Pnom Penh; it examined comprehensively the situation in Kampuchea and the tasks in-

volved in the republic's political, economic, social and cultural development. One of the speakers at the conference, Pen Sovan, Deputy Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, who is responsible for national defence, stated that the Kampuchean people supported the policy of the United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council. This is a major factor in the revolutionary movement, a guarantee of success in building a new society.

Discussing the priority tasks of the revolution, the speaker pointed to the need to eradicate the remnants of the destroyed Pol Pot bands, who are still hiding in some of the country's mountainous and rural districts, to maintain constant vigilance and secure law and order.

He called for an accelerated stabilisation of life in the country, the extension of all-round aid to people returning to their home towns, the creation of the conditions for setting up production, with the emphasis on agriculture, an explanation of the political course of the Front and the People's Revolutionary Council to the popular masses, and constant concern for consolidating the bodies of people's power in villages, communities and districts.

Pen Sovan stressed that a constant strengthening of Kampuchean-Vietnamese solidarity was imperative, this being a vital political task for ensuring the triumph of the two people's revolutions, and that a foreign policy aimed at heightening the international authority of the People's Republic of Kampuchea was essential.

The young republic is faced with tremendous, at times unimaginable, difficulties.

The bungling of the Pol Pot people has brought the country's economy into complete chaos. When liberation came, almost the entire population of Kampuchea was actually starving, lacking any real means of subsistence. Agricultural production had been dealt a ruinous blow, particularly the once rich rubber plantations. A considerable proportion of industrial enterprises had been destroyed or put out of order. Enormous capital investment will be required for the cities, turned into ghost towns under the Pol Pot regime, to get back to normal.

One tremendously difficult problem facing the revolutionary government is the almost total lack of administrators and technical and engineering personnel, agronomists, doctors and teachers. These were the people who first fell under Pol Pot's axe.

In short, the builders of the new Kampuchea have virtually to start from scratch.

All these difficulties are temporary, of course. The new Kampuchea has many faithful friends. It is receiving decisive support from the countries of the socialist community, the newly-free states and all progressive people in the world. In accordance with their internationalist duty, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Soviet Union are extending vast and multifarious aid to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Of great importance for the further development of fraternal solidarity and long-term collaboration was the official friendly visit paid to the People's Republic of Kampuchea in mid-February 1979 by a government delegation from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. The major outcome of this visit was the signing of an Agreement on Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; this document has inaugurated a new stage in the development of mutual relations between the two fraternal neighbouring peoples.

The agreement, concluded for a 25-year term, obliges both sides to take every effort to develop and uphold the traditions of solidarity, friendship and co-operation between Kampuchea and Vietnam. The two fraternal countries will be building their relations on respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of the other, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The parties are to render each other comprehensive assistance consolidating and defending their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the peaceful labour of each country's people from the subversive actions by the forces of imperialism and international reaction. Each of the parties shall take effective measures to implement this part of the agreement, should the need arise.

Both sides shall contribute to the development of co-operation in economics, culture, education, public health, science and technology and the training of personnel, as well as in exchanging experts and experience.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have expressed their firm resolve to develop relations with socialist countries, pursue a policy of friendship and good-neighbourliness with Thailand and the other South-East Asian countries, and make an active contribution to the cause of peace and stability in the region.

The sides shall develop relations of co-operation with the newly-free states and national liberation and democratic movement, and will give resolute support to the struggle of peoples for peace and national independence.

Another successful official friendly visit to Kampuchea was that by a delegation from the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, headed by its president Souphanouvong, a month later. Agreements were signed concerning multifaceted Laotian-Kampuchean co-operation based on the principles of fraternal solidarity and good-neighbourliness.

Of great importance for consolidating the position of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the international scene were the friendly visits paid by the first delegations from the new Kampuchea, headed by General Secretary of the KUFNS Central Committee Roh Samay, to the countries of the socialist community—the USSR, Vietnam, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Cuba.

The delegation's stay in the Soviet Union demonstrated the fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Soviet and Kampuchean peoples. The delegation was received by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and met with the public in Moscow, Leningrad, Byelorussia and Uzbekistan. Underlying the numerous talks and speeches by the Kampuchean and Soviet officials was the confidence that with the victory of the popular revolution in Kampuchea, friendship and solidarity between the Soviet and Kampuchean peoples would continue to develop and strengthen for the benefit of both countries, and in the interests of peace, social progress and socialism. "The ideas of

the Great October Socialist Revolution have exerted a powerful influence on the development of the revolutionary process in our country," Roh Samay stated. "Marxist-Leninist teachings inspire us today as well. In implementing our extensive programme for building a new society, we shall proceed from the experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries. The Kampuchean people express their profound satisfaction that solidarity and friendship between the USSR and Kampuchea has been restored for all time and that, now, no one will be able to destroy our fraternity and unity."

The enemies of the new Kampuchea, specifically the Chinese leaders and reactionary circles in the West, have unleashed a furious, hostile campaign against the revolutionary and patriotic forces of the country in a bid to make their work even more difficult, create an international climate unfavourable for them and halt the process of the worldwide legal recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Peking has become the inspirator and leader of the struggle waged by the remnants of the Pol Pot bands against the Kampuchean revolutionary government supplying them with arms, ammunition and personnel. One of the objectives of the treacherous, 30-day aggressive war waged by the Chinese leaders against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in February and March 1979 was to invigorate the flagging activities of the Pol Pot bands in Kampuchea and to prevent the Kampuchean revolutionary government from suppressing the last strongholds of opposition belonging to the pro-Peking reactionary forces.

Yet all the attempts by the enemies of the new Kampuchea have been in vain. The triumph of the national revolution in Kampuchea is irreversible. A guarantee of this is the wide support given by the country's population for the political programme and the practical measures of the United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council, and the consolidating international position of the country, which is enjoying the internationalist support of the socialist countries, of its fraternal neighbours—Vietnam and Laos, and of progressive people throughout the world.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The triumph of the revolution in Kampuchea and the establishment of the People's Republic is of great international importance. As Leonid Brezhnev has pointed out, the forces of socialism and democracy have triumphed in Kampuchea, which is a major achievement for the world revolutionary movement. Kampuchea has returned to the camp of today's progressive forces, from which Peking's protégés tried to wrest it. Real prospects for building a new life on truly socialist foundations and the principles of scientific socialism, have opened up before the Kampuchean people.

The long military confrontation between Vietnam and Kampuchea has at last come to an end. The solidarity between the three fraternal countries of Indochina—Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos is now developing on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and respect for one another's independence and sovereignty; it is an important factor guaranteeing the complete and decisive triumph of the revolution in each of the countries.

The fall of the anti-popular clique in Kampuchea, which constantly disturbed peace in South-East Asia, has brought a radical improvement in the situation in the region. Real prerequisites have been created for establishing and developing solid relations based on friendship, mutual trust and good-neighbourliness between all the countries of Indochina, including Thailand, for extending detente in South-East Asia, and for transforming the region into a zone of peace, independence, freedom and neutrality, a zone of stability and prosperity.

In conclusion, let us consider one of the most important aspects of the historical changes that have taken place in Kampuchea. This is the first *anti-Maoist* revolution in the history of the world revolutionary and national liberation movement, the first victorious revolutionary movement by the popular masses against the essentially anti-scientific theoretical schemes and practices of Maoism, and against the reactionary policies of the present Chinese leadership, whose scion in Kampuchea was the bloody Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime.

The victory of the people's anti-Maoist revolution in Kampuchea is thus of international significance. A powerful blow had been dealt at Maoism in Kampuchea, and the groundlessness and adventuristic nature revealed of the so-called "Chinese path to socialism" of a barrack-room type, which Peking propaganda has been doggedly trying to foist on other nations. There is no future in attempts to build a socio-political structure Peking-style.

The developments in Kampuchea have shown quite clearly that anyone who involves himself in China's notorious designs, in Peking's reactionary activities on the world stage, is working counter to the vital interests of his people and is inevitably doomed to failure. The inglorious end of the Chinese "experiment" in Kampuchea must have a sobering effect on those political forces, particularly in the newly-free countries, that still harbour illusions concerning the real role played by the Chinese renegades in the world and that still blindly consider home-grown Maoists or actual Chinese agents, of whom Peking is creating new "Pol Pots" and "Ieng Sarys" to carry out its expansionist designs, as real revolutionaries.

THE VICTORIOUS PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

Roh Samay, *General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Kampuchea United Front for National
Salvation*

Pravda, March 12, 1979

The historic victory won by our nation on January 7, 1979 under the leadership of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation (KUFNS), has led to the toppling of the anti-popular Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. All power in the country has gone to the People's Revolutionary Council—the lawful government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, born in the flames of the war for emancipation. In its programme, the Front has set the task of building a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea advancing along socialist lines.

The country has already started implementing the Front's programme. People's self-administration committees—local elected bodies of power—are being set up in all provinces. Regiments of the people's militia and the first subdivisions of a regular army are being formed. Mass trade union, peasant, women's, youth and other public organisations have begun functioning. The Communist Party of Kampuchea is being reborn on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

All this work is being done in a complex atmosphere greatly influenced by the grim consequences of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's criminal experiments in establishing "bar-rack-room socialism" and carrying out a policy of genocide. Only two physicians have remained alive in Kampuchea. We are also hard pressed for engineers, scientists, teachers and skilled workers. All industrial enterprises and almost all farm machinery were put out of commission. The pro-Peking "builders of a new world" destroyed libraries, cinemas, schools

and higher educational establishments. Things vital for any state were eliminated: public transport, communications, television, and also banks, markets and trade in general.

One of our major successes was getting the capital's Pochentong Airport back into working order, as well as the main seaport of Kampong Saom and the western section of the railway from Sisop Song to Battam-bang in our rice growing belt. Much work is being done to get industrial enterprises functioning again and to revitalise agriculture. In many rural areas mutual assistance groups are being organised to work on a voluntary basis.

A special commission has begun investigating the crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, traitors to the country, the people and the revolution, apostates of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. On the basis of now commonly-known facts and of that grim period in our national history lessons can be drawn that are important not only for us—a people whom the Peking expansionists had doomed to extinction, but also for other peoples and countries threatened by the sword of the great-Han hegemonists who control a country with a population of almost a thousand million.

In April 1975, after the defeat of the American aggressors in Indochina, the way was opened for Kampuchea to develop in peace, democracy and prosperity. The country had made tremendous sacrifices to attain this, but it turned out that the favourable opportunities were not realised. Because of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and their Chinese sponsors, Kampuchea was turned into a bloody sea of human suffering. In only a few years, the band of traitors and their Chinese bosses murdered over three million innocent citizens.

Today we know, that the purpose of establishing a Maoist-type political structure in Kampuchea, for the first time outside of China, was to mercilessly exterminate our people and obtain *Lebensraum* for eventual settlement by Huaqiao, and to make Kampuchea a spring-board for military expansionism in South-East Asia—a rich region with a total population of almost 400 million. The Peking strategists' expansionist plans embrace Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, Burma and

other South-East Asian countries, as well as New Zealand and Australia.

Like other people, we were amazed when, in 1954, Chinese school textbooks included many independent states bordering on the PRC as part of its "historical territory" and described them as "temporarily lost" as a result of "seizure by imperialists and colonialists". The events of subsequent years, particularly on the Sino-Indian, Sino-Soviet, Sino-Vietnamese and Sino-Laotian borders have shown that this "cartographic expansion" was only a prelude to unprovoked armed attacks and aggression by Maoist China against neighbouring countries for the purpose of expanding its *Lebensraum* at their expense. Mao Zedong's August 1965 speech at a closed session of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is common knowledge. It contained a very frank statement: "We must definitely take possession of South-East Asia." The first testing ground for implementing this misanthropic plan was our country, which had attracted China with its strategic location in the south-east of the continent and its southern seaports. No one denies, of course, that an enormous country like China has its demographic problems, but the present Peking rulers seek to solve them not by peaceful creative labour, but through foreign expansion, and seizure of the territories of other states.

What methods were used to implement this policy in Kampuchea? Its direct executor was a "fifth column" of Maoist agents among our people, which Peking had nurtured and later planted in the ranks of the Kampuchean liberation and revolutionary movements over the course of many years. The activities of these traitors were supervised by tens of thousands of Chinese advisers. The first thing that was done by the Maoist clique to cover up the monstrous genocide was to cut off Kampuchea completely from the outside world. All lines of communication with the international community were broken. The main blow was levelled at the cities, intellectuals, and at the culture and fine traditions of our people.

Over three million residents of Pnom Penh and other cities were forcibly resettled in villages and put in so-called

work crews—types of concentration camp. Many people perished en route or later from starvation and disease, or they were simply put to death. These monstrous crimes were demagogically covered up by the slogans “socialist revolution” and the “complete abolition of classes and social vestiges”. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique made experiment primarily with city workers, including the proletariat, in whose behalf it was ostensibly acting.

The clique’s actual plans for genocide can be judged by the trumpeting of Pol Pot himself. Only a year ago he contended that the “new order” would need only one million Kampucheans. It was openly planned to sacrifice the lives of two million Kampucheans in the fratricidal war unleashed by the Pol Pot people on Peking’s instructions against Vietnam. It is frightening to imagine, but if the regime of Peking’s stooges had lasted another five or six years, it would have meant the extermination of almost all our people.

The Chinese expansionists have already set about laying the groundwork for realising their extensive hegemonistic plans in South-East Asia on the whole. At the instigation of the PRC’s secret services, “small wars” have been kept alive for many years in Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and other countries in order to destabilise them. Thousands upon thousands of people are perishing there at the hands of their own countrymen—agents who receive their instructions and equipment from Peking. In their own environment, the Chinese hegemonists are training new “Pol Pots” and “Ieng Sarys”, in order, in the future, to carry out their designs for conquest through these stooges. The strategists of Maoist China view the 20 million Huaqiao (ethnic Chinese) living in South-East Asia as another “fifth column” in these countries.

In three and a half years Kampuchea was turned into a spring-board for armed provocations. Millions of Kampucheans were made to build strategic roads and frontier bridge-heads for aggression. To launch provocations against its neighbours, Peking supplied Kampuchea with large quantities of armaments, something it never did during the entire war for emancipation.

From the very outset, the bloody dictatorship evoked

resistance on the part of the popular masses, the centres of which were continually expanding. On December 2, 1978, the wave of these actions, which developed into actual popular uprisings, gave birth to the KUFNS under whose leadership the decisive blow was dealt to the bloody dictatorial regime.

Kampuchea was not only the first experiment in implanting the Maoist model of a political system and of genocide; it is also the first country in which an anti-Maoist popular revolution has triumphed.

Although only a short time has passed since the declaration of the PRK, the republic has been making a weighty contribution to strengthening peace and security in the region. The Kampuchean borders have already become peaceful. Co-operation is successfully being established with the neighbouring fraternal socialist states of Vietnam and Laos. We have expressed our readiness to maintain good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with the South-East Asian states and every country in the world. Of immense importance for the consolidation of traditional fraternal ties of solidarity and mutual assistance, as well as for ensuring peace in the region, is the Kampuchean-Vietnamese Agreement on Peace, Friendship and Co-operation recently signed in Pnom Penh.

The Peking expansionists recently perpetrated an overt act of aggression against the independent, sovereign Socialist Republic of Vietnam. One of the goals of this criminal act was to support the remains of the bands of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary puppet regime, which Peking is even trying to supply with weapons. Peking's criminal aggression and these provocations have failed. Meeting heroic resistance on the part of the Vietnamese people and the strong solidarity of the peoples of Indochina, who are being decisively supported by the countries of the socialist community and all peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces, the Peking invaders were forced to beat a retreat. They have announced the withdrawal of their troops from Vietnamese territory, though by all indications they are in no hurry to do so.

We shall never forget the tragedy that befell Kampuchea. Shortsighted are those who are today sitting on the sidelines, fearing to condemn the aggressor who, trampling on all inter-

national norms, is committing crimes on Vietnamese soil, mounting provocations against Laos, and attempting to resurrect the regime of pro-Peking murderers in our country. This could have most unfortunate consequences for them, too, especially the countries of South-East and South Asia, which are already becoming objects of China's great-power expansionism.

In building a peaceful life and a socialist society, the Kampuchean people are relying on the firm solidarity of the peoples of Indochina, the support of the fraternal socialist countries, and on progressive and democratic forces the world over.

Recently a KUFNS delegation made its first visit to the USSR, where it expressed its sincere gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the entire fraternal Soviet people for their all-round support of the Kampuchean people at all stages of our hard fight for freedom and independence, and for a bright future for our country. During our stay in the USSR, the true friend of revolutionary forces throughout the world, we again saw for ourselves the internationalist stand of the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people. The ideas of the October Revolution had a powerful influence on the revolutionary process in our country and Marxist-Leninist teaching is inspiring us today as well. We will base ourselves on the experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries in implementing our broad programme for building a new life. The Kampuchean people express their tremendous joy that solidarity and friendship have been re-established between the USSR and Kampuchea for all time and that now no one can destroy our fraternity and unity.

This collection of articles and other material from the world press is an account of how, on orders from Peking, the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sari clique turned Kampuchea into a prison camp and testing ground for Maoist genocidal ideas.

There is also an account of the people's revolution of 7 January 1979 which enabled the Kampucheans to begin building a new life under guidance of the Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation.